CHAPTER III

NGONI CULTURE

Among the mixed ethnic elements in the Ngoni kingdoms the ruling aristocracy were those whose ancestors were of Swazi and trans-Zambesi origin, and whose clan descent names established them as belonging to the true Ngoni group. The families with these clan names formed also a social aristocracy in the villages where they lived, in the areas of the chiefs and *ilamuzana*, and in the Ngoni kingdoms. This social status, established primarily by the clan name, was visible in the position of the huts in the village, arranged at the head of the kraal; in the leading role played by the senior members of these families on all ceremonial occasions; and in the practice of a number of customs which were defined as Ngoni. Ngoni culture, as seen in social and ritual life, was a series of interwoven patterns of social organization and social behaviour. We shall outline these patterns here in order to bring together many of the forms and practices described in the rest of the book. In a more homogeneous society it would have been possible to find in these patterns a consistent and clearly defined culture. Yet one of the main problems in studying Ngoni culture in the 1930's was that there were many variations of each pattern and the anthropologist was all the time trying to find out what degree of cultural conformity existed among the Ngoni aristocracy. Of the different aspects of culture reviewed in this chapter, the ritual pattern was the one most consistently followed, and it was the one in which the Ngoni social aristocracy most clearly demonstrated that they had a distinctive common culture which was found in both kingdoms and in the secession states.

(a) *Kinship pattern*

Like the South-eastern Bantu from whom they came the Ngoni were patrilineal in descent and inheritance. Marriage was negotiated by go-betweens and concluded through the handing over of cattle, and the term *lobola* was used for the cattle exchanged in this form of marriage. An Ngoni woman married by this form was known as *ndobokazi*. A strict interpretation in the courts was given to this form of marriage as it affected the ownership and custody of the children. The children of a *lobola* marriage contract belonged to their father and could be claimed by him if the marriage broke up, or on the death of their mother. Traditionally, virilocal residence was an Ngoni custom, and it was supported by the house system whereby the male members of each house formed a group with economic interests in common through the joint ownership of the cattle in the name of the house. A widespread variant

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142 546 surroundings, their families, and the behaviour of those for whom they were responsible was most noticeable. Not all of these women were in the category of royal women, nor did all the royal women conform to this distinctive physical type, though the association of high-ranking family, physical appearance and pride of bearing was striking.

644 565 There were three main classes of royal women, all associated with the Paramount in a special relationship. These showed some parallels with the classes of royal women among the Swazi described by Dr. Kuper. I have not adopted her terms for distinguishing them, with the exception of the term Queen Mother, which I have used in the English sense of the widow of a former ruler and mother of the existing ruler. The chief women associated with the Paramount in the Ngoni kingdoms were the Royal Sister, the Queen Mother, and the big wife. This same association of three leading women with a ruling chief or *nduneusana* was found in the subordinate chieftainships under the Paramount, and in the head villages of the Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans. It was a definite Ngoni pattern, associating women of high rank with the men who carried political responsibility. Their positions in the Ngoni patrilineal and virilocal social structure was markedly different from the position of the leading women in the matrilineal and uxorilocal societies of other Nyasaland peoples, especially in their relationship to their husbands, sons and brothers.

644 593 The relationships of the Queen Mother and the big wife to the Paramount were of a different character from that of the Royal Sister to her brother, since she was of the royal clan and they were not. We shall first consider the position in the Ngoni kingdoms of the Queen Mother and the big wife, since reference has been made to them already in the previous chapter. In the new *kumapulo* village of the Paramount there was a close connexion between the Queen Mother, who moved out with him, and his own big wife. His big wife was of the same house as the Queen Mother, since the cattle for her *lobola* had been taken from the herd of the Queen Mother. At this time of moving out into the new village the big wife began to be head of her own house. Other wives, married with cattle from the herd which had been built up for her, and kraaled with those belonging to the Queen Mother, were attached to her house, and their huts were built near her own. She was the mother, actual or potential, of the future Paramount. If she failed to have a male child, or if her sons died, a male child would be taken from another wife's hut and brought up in her hut and would be known as the child of her house. Since she was the mother of the heir she had a special relationship to the *indona* appointed to look after her house. It was the house of the Paramount elect and also she would probably, when the Queen Mother died, succeed to the ownership of the *indlunkulu* hut. Her *indona* would then become one of the most important men in the village as he would receive all guests and strangers.

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182 585 621 The prolonged series of interviews, exchanges and ceremonies emphasized the Ngoni conception of the marriage contract and its binding nature. They also underlined the severance of the new wife from her former family and home, and her gradual assimilation into her mother-in-law's house. This relationship between Ngoni women within the houses provided an effective means of integrating them into a village to which they were strangers.

CHAPTER IV

NGONI FAMILY STRUCTURE

183 59 'The Ngoni have power and authority over their women and their children.' So began one of the texts on *ungoni*, 'the thing that is Ngoni', by a man of the Ntumbo people whose grandfather had been born among the Ngoni when they were in Songea. There was a recognized ideal pattern of an Ngoni family which covered both the individuals included in the family group and the place where they lived. This pattern was patrilineal in descent, virilocal in residence, polygynous in marriage for all men of standing who were not Christians. Other recognized and often-mentioned characteristics were the continued residence of widows in their husband's village after his death, the grouping of families by houses, and the *lumumi*, or dormitory system for boys and unmarried young men.

581 593 The young wife wept on the day of her marriage because she was leaving the security and known relationships of her own family for the hazards and uncertainty of entering as a stranger into her husband's family group. The dramatization of these sentiments in the protracted marriage ceremony, and the allusions in the *mitimbo* songs, brought out clearly the continuity of the man's relations with all members of his family and the sudden sharp break in the woman's relationship when she married. When her first child was born, and a new individual family group launched, her final integration into her husband's family began. As a mother who had borne a grandchild to her husband's parents she had thenceforward a direct part in the relationships within her husband's family, but as a wife she was always a stranger. The marriage negotiations and ceremonial express the closeness of the family ties, showing on the girl's side the anxiety of her family on parting with her to live among strangers, and on the man's side the hesitancy of the husband's family at taking into their midst an unknown and married stranger. In addition, the protracted exchanges of cattle and goats, delaying the final ceremony and building up relationships between the two family groups, illustrate the Ngoni attitude towards marriage as a

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binding contract. In theory at least the girl left her family for good once the agreed *lobola* was handed over, and the responsibility for adjustment to the family she had entered was hers, first as wife and then as mother.

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Investigation of the terminology associated with the Ngoni concept of family immediately poses problems of relating group structure to individual and group relationships. Dr. Kuper did not refer to any single term for family among the Swazi. The nearest was the term *umuti* used for homestead[1] which covered a recognised leader and his dependents, in terms of common residence, mutual relations and economic activities. The Cewa term *banja*,[2] widely used in Nyasaland in the 1930's to translate 'family', in its general use was more akin to the Swazi *umuti* since it denoted the relationships of a group of people to one man, and their common residence in a single village or a section of a village. *Banja* was used to express relationship to one man by kinship and marriage, but when it was used among the central Ngoni it also applied to other individuals, such as his age mates and the descendants of his father's former captives who lived in the same village. Another Cewa term *mbumba* was used in two distinct senses. The common use was to express the relationship of one man with his sisters and their children who inherited his position and his property and looked to him for assistance. A much less common use of the term was found sometimes in central Nyasaland and occasionally in north Nyasaland to cover the group of a man and his children and his brothers and their children—a patrilineal concept of a kinship group which was usually but not always associated with common residence.

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There was one major difference between the Ngoni concept inherent in their use of *banja* and that of the Cewa and other matrilineal peoples. When an important man or woman died among the Cewa, someone always 'entered their place' in the kinship system, and this acquiring of a new position involved a shift in actual relationships and in terminology throughout the group of kin. There was no such change among the Ngoni in the use of kinship terms. When a man or woman among the Ngoni entered a dead person's place it was in order to perform his functions and not to assume the dead person's kinship relationships.

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The village lay-out in different types of Ngoni village illustrates the way in which family grouping could be recognized in the sharing of the same hut, in the grouping of huts, and in the relations with neighbouring villages. Later in this chapter illustrations will be given from the northern and central Ngoni kingdoms to show how certain patterns of residential grouping on a family basis were evolving from the divisions of mixed tribal groups characteristic of the former large villages of pre-European days. The general tendency in northern Ngoniland was to

[1] op. cit. p. 58.
[2] Scott and Hetherwick in their dictionary translate *banja*: house, home, household, family.

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621 593 break up into smaller villages, and there were on the whole more villages in the north said to be *nabanja limodzi* (*of* one family) than among the central Ngoni. On the other hand, the *banungulo* pattern of village division had almost disappeared among the central Ngoni.

591 592 [361] A man on his first marriage built a hut for his wife behind his mother's hut, where his brothers by the same mother or by mothers of the same house also built. The family grouping by residence was therefore determined by house affiliation. Associated with this residential group based on kinship, there were the residences of the *induna* and his family which had separate alignments on a kinship basis, though for certain common purposes they combined with the family groups related to the house by kinship. The children of the families belonging to the house and the children of the *induna* who took care of it began to intermarry when the prohibitions on marriage within the village ceased to operate. In this way kinship bonds were created within a group which formerly had only residence and certain activities in common, and this process was recognizable in a number of the larger villages, especially in the central kingdom.

593 Within the different types of family groups determined by their residential basis there were certain outstanding relationships between members of the same family. The most important of these was that between father and children; the father, as the biological parent and also the symbol of authority, was the focus of honour and respect, and the one who helped his children when they were in need. The relation between the father and his children among the Ngoni was always a balance between affection and care, and respect and authority. The ideal pattern of a father, as described by informants, included all these elements and also wisdom. This concept of the father relationship was extended to the head of a *banja*, to the headman of a village or a section of a village, to a *mabanzanzu* in charge of an area, to a chief, and to the [594] Paramount himself. The Ngoni greeting to all older men, and the most respectful form of address to a man of any seniority, was *baba*, father, or its Nyanja equivalent *bambo*.

The mother, on the other hand, had a more limited relationship within the family circle. To her own children and to the children of her co-wives, especially of her house, she was the provider of food, and the affectionate 'cherisher'[1] of young children; but she was also treated with respect and, when she reached some seniority, she had considerable authority over her daughters and her younger co-wives. She could never compete, however, with the sisters of her husband or with his mothers, who expected to exercise authority over her children and to [594] arrange for the ceremonies connected with birth, puberty, and marriage. 184 In villages where virilocal residence was the rule, the husband's sisters were married elsewhere and were only present in the village during

[1] *Andewa*, lit. to cherish, is the word used for bringing up children.

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visits or on special occasions. In the central kingdom, where an important man's sisters often married in the village and stayed there, it was evident that they often exercised authority over their brother's children.

In polygynous Ngoni families the relationship between siblings was marked by strong attachment. Among the boys in the *lamwi* brothers united to protect their younger brothers from other boys, and in the families of Swazi clans brothers showed many signs of youthful insolence and arrogance towards boys of other clans, especially in matters concerning cattle and their herding. Sibling rivalry among boys was to a large extent controlled by two factors. One was the *lamwi* system where the age-set principle predominated. The other was the division into the big house and *gqwa* house, where the children of the *gqwa* house knew that they stood in a different relationship to succession and authority in the village from their brothers and sisters in the big house. Within the big house itself, some of the big wife knew that succession was regulated by seniority, and that the eldest son would expect to get priority when he married and it was necessary to allot cattle for *lobolo*. The brother-sister link between children of the same mother was, as we have seen, a very close one, especially with the older sister of a man who was heir to a high position. This sister in her relation to his children carried almost the same authority as he did. Among sisters of the same family there was less apparent cohesion, except among very high-ranking Swazi clans where the girl children were looked after by special nursemaids and had their instruction in correct behaviour together from the older woman known as their *gqwa*.

Ngoni grandparents on the paternal side showed little of the joking relationship with their grandchildren sometimes associated with this tie. When children went to visit their maternal grandparents in another village there was noticeably more ease between them and more indulgence was shown. In their father's village children were always aware that his parents were persons of standing and authority. Girls over six or seven often slept in their paternal grandmother's hut if she was a widow, and were aware that, though she showed kindliness in providing for their needs, she was a firm disciplinarian in all matters of behaviour.

Within the family group the male role of leadership was unquestioned. Honour and respect were a man's due from wives as well as from children. In difficult relations within his family, as in the case of divorce, he could count on counsel and support from his brothers, who were also ready to help him if cattle were needed for his own or his son's marriage or for payment of court penalties. This male circle of father and sons, father's brothers and their sons, was a closely knit group which functioned in regulating family affairs and in buying and selling cattle for the house to which they belonged. An obligation to help his sons was recognized by the father of a family and this obligation

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extended to his brothers' sons, especially if their father was dead. Following the same pattern, a man's sons who were away at work sent back money to their father who bought cattle with it, or spent it as the sons asked. It was clear in the 1930's that Ngoni men rarely sent money directly to their wives, though they frequently asked their father to give money to their wives and to buy for them cloth or needed household equipment.

Within the larger orbit of the male family responsibilities women had their more restricted but clearly defined sphere. At a woman's confinement she was looked after by her husband's own mother, aided by his other mothers and by his sisters if they were present in the village. At the 'coming out' of the new member of the family, ten to fourteen days after birth, the woman and the baby, bathed and ritually cleansed, were seated on a mat outside the hut and presented to the male members of the father's family who gave small gifts to the baby. If it was a boy, the father's mother generally carried it to the gate of the kraal where the men were sitting, to present it to them as one who would eventually herd the cattle. On this occasion, or soon after, the child's name was chosen, usually by the father's father, who prepared and gave to the mother a calf-skin or goat-skin for carrying the child in. The meat of the animal was cooked by the father's mother and a small feast was held for the father's mothers, sisters, brothers and their wives, and any others of the father's family who had helped in the confinement.[1] After the child had thus been acknowledged in its father's family circle, the mother took the baby to visit her own family, who also gave it presents.

During the rearing of the child, its father's female relatives assumed responsibility for giving the young mother advice. The father's mother was expected to note the stage at which the child should be weaned, always if possible before the mother's next pregnancy. If the father's mother was unobservant, the other senior women of the husband's family would rebuke her and say 'Look now you are foolish because the child has been endangered. You are like an enemy to it.' These women then took the initiative and insisted on weaning the child. They said to the baby's mother 'We want to wean the child.' They made a paste of ground chillies and put it on the mother's breasts and covered them with a skin or cloth. The child was taken from her after it had tried to suck and had been refused, and given to the father's mother or sister, who looked after it with the help of a nursemaid. It was fed on cow's milk, amasi (milk curds), and gruel.

The publicity given to the weaning and the initiative taken by the senior women of the husband's family were intended to inform others in the village that the parents were now free to have another child. This was one aspect of the old Ngoni form of family planning and, in describing

[1] This feast was also held when a carrying cloth was given instead of a skin.

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what took place, informants were anxious to point this out. They also admitted that its successful carrying out depended on several factors which no longer operated. The former Ngoni household with a number of servants and concubines were only to be found in the families of the Paramount and subordinate chiefs. The rigid separation of the girl from her own family at marriage was no longer usual in the central kingdom where Ngoni marriages often took place in the same village, and where daughters of important men stayed in their fathers' villages at marriage instead of leaving.

In Ngoni households family sleeping and eating arrangements depended not upon the small individual family but on the extended family group and on the boys' dormitory (*lamosi*). As a general rule small children slept with their mother in her hut, but when her husband was sleeping with her it was considered wrong to have any but very young children in the hut. Boys up to the age of seven, when they went to the *lamosi*, and girls up to their marriage, usually slept in the hut of a mother or a widowed sister of their father.

Each wife, after she had been 'shown the hearth-stones', had a granary built for her by her husband or her husband's brothers where she stored grain. On the rafters in her hut, and in pots and jars on the enclosed verandah, and in pits dug under the eaves, she stored other foodstuffs, such as chillies, beans and sweet potatoes. From these supplies, supplemented by fresh 'relish' from the gardens or bush, she cooked daily meals which she served to her husband, and which her younger sons in the *lamosi* fetched to eat there, while she ate with her young children. Her husband's meals and the older boys' meals were taken in company with the male members of his kinship group and other villagers at the men's meeting-place by the gate of the kraal. His wife sent his food by a child in a covered basket with the small pot of relish on top. The publicity of the men's eating habits made them critical among their fellows of their wives' cooking, and this was a strong incentive among Ngoni wives to maintain a high standard of cooking. In addition to sending food to her husband, an Ngoni wife was expected to send a basket of food now and then to her father-in-law, or to any of her brothers-in-law who had assisted her to mend a roof or build a granary.

Within a wife's hut, not only food but other possessions, both personal and household, were stored. Clothes for daily and ceremonial use; mats for sleeping on and for drying grain; pots for water, cooking, and beer-brewing; ornamental jars for storing beans; baskets for carrying grain, food baskets embroidered with beads—the Ngoni wife of good family expected to possess all these and to keep them carefully. Many of them she brought with her on her marriage or had given her later as presents by her own parents and family, in order that she might not appear poor or of low rank among her husband's people. For the same reason, she

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in the village, whom they regarded as inferior not only because they had been conquered, but because they disliked and despised their way of living. This sense of separateness from and of superiority to the non-Ngoni elements in the villages had its counterpart in the close ties which existed with Ngoni families in other villages. These ties were reinforced socially by 'dynastic' or inter-clan marriages, and politically through the hierarchy of courts and officials leading up to the Paramount's court and entourage.

The Ngoni aristocracy endeavoured to maintain their traditional ways of living and of bringing up their children in the face of changes creeping in from the non-Ngoni elements in the village, as well as from external European influences. The maintenance of Ngoni ways of living and cultural patterns of behaviour depended on three main elements in village society. One was the degree of integration between the Ngoni men in their house groups and in village society as a whole. This was most evident in chiefs' villages, and in the villages belonging to the heads of clans. The second element was the number of wives of true Ngoni families who had married into the village, thus combining the influence of husband and wife, or rather of father and mother, in bringing up children on the Ngoni pattern. The third element was the number and influence of senior women of Ngoni families, either wives of older men in the village, or widows of former leaders. This senior women's group, many of whom were addressed as 'mother' by the Ngoni fathers of young families, were a formidable force in maintaining traditions, by advising their sons, coercing their daughters-in-law, and holding on to their authority at every stage of the children's development.

Life in two Ngoni villages

I am going briefly to sketch in, as a general background for the following chapters, the main features of two villages, in one of which I lived for several months, in the other for a few weeks.

III

'A New Stranger has come'

In these words the father's mother announced from the door of the hut that a child had been born. From inside the hut the women assisting the mother at the time of delivery had given a single cry if it was a boy and two cries for a girl. If the birth had been delayed till late afternoon towards sunset, the women in the hut said to the mother, if it was a boy: 'See the baby has been awaiting the return of the cattle, because it is he who will tend the cattle.'

The new baby was at first regarded as a stranger, born by a woman who had herself come to the village as a stranger when she married. In later years, when speaking of his parents, the child would say: 'X is my father, and I am of the womb of A, and G and H they are my brother and my sister of one womb.' This particularization of a full brother and sister was used to correct the extended use of the kinship terms, and also to convey the idea that having been born from the womb of one woman gave children a special relationship important in Ngoni thinking.

Preparation for birth

When an Ngoni wife was aware that she was pregnant she did not say anything to her husband, and indeed endeavoured to conceal her condition from him as long as possible, continuing the normal sleeping arrangements and intercourse. Ngoni women liked to assert their authority and ascendancy on these occasions, and therefore excluded the men from knowledge of the coming event and from all preparations for it. The senior women used to say, 'Men are

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was instructed before marriage how to keep these household possessions in good repair, and how to smear the floor and walls of the hut with cowdung so that they presented the shining surface typical of Ngoni buildings.

The tables which follow show the total population of three villages in each kingdom at the time they were visited in 1938 and 1939, including such data as the number of widows, of plural marriages, of wives for whom *lobola* was given, and the number of men away at work.

	1 Huts	2 Men	3 Women	4 Children	5 Total	6 Men away	7 Widows	8 Plural marriages	9 Lobola marriages
Northern kingdom									
Ewussini	23	19	21	28	59	10	4	4	21
Endindeni	13	9	21	21	51	4	1	4	13
Ekhangeni	37	19	36	34	109	11	4	3	32
Central kingdom									
Cinkwita	39	22	39	34	115	13	3	4	6
Mangeza	60	41	63	78	184	9	18	8	4
Mzokhetha	182	71	110	68	251	30	16	14	18

Earlier in this chapter reference was made to the patterns of residential grouping on a kinship basis, which had evolved from the mixed tribal groups in the very large villages of pre-European days. The choice of these six villages as examples was made mainly on the grounds that they had a considerable proportion of members of Swazi or trans-Zambesi clans and therefore illustrated the traditional Ngoni pattern of kinship grouping. The northern kingdom villages showed the *hawegula* and *gqo* pattern still extant. It had disappeared in the central kingdom villages with the result that the villages were much larger, and included groups based on house affiliation which would have been divided into separate villages in the north. On the other hand the sub-division of a village in the central kingdom into *banja* was not found in the north.

The data concerning these villages have been analysed to illustrate the households associated with the chief man in the leading clan in the village. These households were those of his wives, his mothers, his brothers, his sons, sisters and daughters. In the north this man was in one case a *nduneumuna*, in another a son of a great war *induna*, and in the third the head of a collateral branch of the royal clan. In the central kingdom the chief man in one was a *nduneumuna*, in another a grandson of a great war *induna*, and in the third the head of the clan of the royal shadow. The proportion of households belonging to the leading clan was much higher in the smaller villages of the north than in the rest, since they were approximating to a one-family village.

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843 little children. They are not able to hear those things which
593 belong to pregnancy.' The men on their part accepted the
562 role of being ignorant of what was coming, though they were generally aware of it. It was an elaborate piece of role-playing, standardised by custom, emphasizing the separation of the men's and women's worlds in Ngoni life, and giving control and authority into the experienced hands of the senior women.

843 The Ngoni culture pattern forbade the wife to tell her
606 mother-in-law herself about her condition. She had, as so often in the Ngoni pattern, to approach first a friend who
572 was her confidante, who might be another young wife or a helper in the household. This friend had to tell her mother-in-law, the future paternal grandmother of the baby, who was destined to play a big part in the child's upbringing.

During the months of pregnancy a Ngoni woman carried on with her normal work in the household, including cooking for her husband. If she feared a miscarriage, and suffered from what was called 'a shaking inside', she stayed quietly in the hut, and, saying that she had a headache, asked her husband to call her friend. Then the friend told the mother-in-law who sent for a 'doctor' to bring medicines 'to make the inside not shake'. A young Ngoni woman did not expect
843 to have miscarriages, and feared that her husband's relatives
152 would blame her home for not giving her enough food before marriage to make her strong and healthy in childbearing.

The fear of invidious comparisons with her own home and upbringing also operated when the wife felt herself near to labour. She would keep on working up to the last minute, for if she told her friend that her time was come, and the friend summoned the senior women, they came to examine her. Should they find on examination that she was not about to deliver, they looked at her and said, 'What are you afraid of? Did you call us for fear?' The young wife was ashamed of being thought fearful, both for her own reputation and

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over the age of ten had to avoid the hut and its inhabitants altogether. The husband slept either in the boys' dormitory or with the husband of the woman who was looking after his wife.

This ritual uncleanness extended to any food once it was carried into the hut. Ngoni women used to demonstrate their love for their husbands by stopping cooked food being carried into the hut, and sending it instead by the child who brought it to her husband where the men were gathered at the gate of the kraal.

Ritual cleansing of a hut and its occupants took place in stages. At the time of 'bringing out the child', which I shall shortly describe, the hut itself was made clean again. It was thoroughly swept, and the floor and veranda were smeared with cowdung. Cowdung was used habitually for smearing on floors, prior to polishing them with a smooth stone. But fresh wet cowdung rubbed on the hands was also used for ritual cleansing after some 'dangerous' act such as touching sacred objects or administering the royal medicines. In the case of its use after childbirth it was undoubtedly used in the ritual sense, for the operation was called 'making the hut safe for the husband to sleep in'. The household goods were then put back in their places, anyone could go into the hut, and the husband returned to sleep there, though on a separate mat on his, the right-hand side, of the fireplace. If the child was a first baby, the husband's return to sleep in the hut was delayed, since the senior women stayed on to instruct the young mother how to take care of the baby at night, and especially how to be careful not to smother it as it lay beside her on her mat.

'Coming out of the hut'

The falling of the cord was the signal that the baby was ready to 'come out of the hut' and be presented to the village. Ngoni women used to hasten the falling of the cord by burning a maize cob, and squeezing into the ashes the juice of the

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854 house was still killed and eaten. The cloth came out of the
[432] store of cloth bought when cattle were sold, and kept in the hut of the senior woman of the father's house.

Visit to the mother's home

● 593 If, as was always the case in earlier days, the mother of the
574 new baby had come from a distant village, she did not see her own mother or her relatives, and they did not see the child until it was several weeks old, and considered by the senior women strong enough to undertake a journey. Then a visit involving much ceremony took place, for the wife's
[604] mother-in-law headed the party. The stiff and formal relations between the two sets of 'in-laws' had been eased slightly through the series of feasts and exchanges which preceded and followed the marriage ceremony. Face-to-face
[571] intercourse was, however, still very formal between the two families, and this first visit with the grandchild was in one sense an act of condescension on the part of the husband's family, since the child belonged to them. It was also a human and natural recognition of the eagerness of the young mother to see her own mother and display her child. Word was sent in advance by a messenger from the husband's village to announce the visit, so that the wife's family could make due preparation.

The main object of this visit was, in the Ngoni phrase, 'to show the child at its mother's home'. The young mother and
[604] baby, with her mother-in-law in the place of honour, sat outside the big house of the girl's father's family. Her father
[401] and his male relatives came to salute the child and to give it
[403] presents of beads, and in modern times small gifts of money as well. If the girl's father owned many cattle, he killed a beast, and they feasted that night, and the visitors carried home meat with them as well as the presents to the child. It was all very formal and correct, except when the young mother escaped for a short time to the circle of her sisters and girlhood friends, and exchanged confidences with them.

After this formal visit had taken place, the young mother was free to visit her former home more often, and her relatives could come and see her and her baby in her husband's village. 593 594

Taking care of the baby

There were two special features of infant care among the Ngoni which were not found among the neighbouring peoples. One was the assignment of a nurse girl from outside the circle of relatives to care for a new infant. The nurse girl was chosen by the grandmother from among her dependent household staff, and was allotted to one particular baby. The girl, who was usually in her early teens and unmarried, was supervised by an older woman, also of the grandmother's household. This woman watched over the personal behaviour of several nurse girls, as well as seeing that they did their work properly as nurses. 854 857 [592] [585]

The nurse girl took charge of the baby in the early morning and kept it with her all day until nightfall, bringing it back to the mother at more or less regular intervals for suckling. The mother played with the baby if she felt like it, and sent for the nurse girl to bring it to her if strangers came and she wanted to display the child. The Ngoni commended this practice by saying that their women kept clean because they did not carry babies about all day on their backs. They admitted at the same time that many infants grew greatly attached to their nurse girls, to the extent of being happier with them than with their mother. The nurse girls did not take little babies far afield. They stayed around within the fences of the household or near at hand, helping with domestic chores, chatting to other nurse girls, helping to prepare meals, and eating with the baby's mother and anyone else who formed part of the household eating unit. At night, after she had given the baby to its mother, she went off to sleep in the hut of the older woman who was in charge of her and other nurse girls.

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862 other compounds, so that the child should not 'see the mother's breasts and cry for them'. Nevertheless they did cry, some of them day and night at first, and many for weeks at night when the indulgent warmth of the mother on her mat was exchanged for the kindly but somewhat stern care [608] of the grandmother or another older woman. Paternal grandmothers did not believe in spoiling Ngoni children, and the child was often left to cry itself to sleep.

● 593 862 606 The Ngoni used to say: 'On the day when a child was weaned, all the village knew. It was not a secret. People spoke about it to show that the parents were now free to have another child.' The mother-in-law and the other senior women of the father's family took the initiative as well as assuming responsibility for deciding the moment for weaning. Those same senior women who had assisted at the birth of the child arrived one morning on the veranda of the mother's hut and announced, 'We want to wean this child.' Apparently the mother was sometimes capable of refusing to co-operate. She did not want to give up suckling the child, so she picked it up and ran out of the hut past the women, and hid herself and her child with some of her friends. The senior women did not stoop to argument. They formed into a procession and filed out of the compound saying, 'Well, she has refused. She can now find the proper time herself, with her husband.' The young mother, who had yielded to a sudden impulse, found herself on reflection in great difficulty. It was considered a 'shame' for her to do the weaning herself, and her husband was jeered at by his brothers and friends for having a rebellious wife who did not pay attention to the claims of his family on the child.

862 So when the senior women announced that they had come to do the weaning, most young mothers meekly submitted, whatever their personal sentiments were. The senior women pounded chillies and put the hot paste on the mother's breasts, and held the child near enough to smell the chillies, even to touch them. They said to the child, 'Leave it alone.

606 handle them, as well as how to conform to required behaviour. So she put up with present restrictions for the sake of future peace and harmony. Her lot was to live there with her husband's people, and the birth of the child was a strong link in the chain which bound her to them. Meantime she [572] found some relief in her friends among the other young wives, and particularly with the one in whom she placed her confidence, and who acted as her go-between with her mother-in-law.

Wife to Husband

• 593 Throughout the intricate and often vexing relations with her mother-in-law and other senior women, the husband-wife relationship remained for the young mother a steadying and constant factor. She had been attracted to him in courtship; [58] she had had the chance of accepting or refusing him when the marriage proposals were made; the cattle had been handed over to her father to seal the marriage contract. For all these and other reasons she held on to her love for her husband and her relationship with him, whatever overbearing behaviour might be shown her by his relatives. Hence she took care of his possessions in the hut they shared, helping the senior women to send them out of the hut just before the confinement. She redirected food towards him when it was sent to her during her confinement, gladly going short herself in order to prove her devotion. She was glad that after coming out of the hut, having a nurse girl meant that she could keep her body and her clothes clean and sweet-smelling and therefore pleasing to him. She was happy when the ritual cleansing of the hut and of herself made it possible for her to cook for her husband again and endear him to her by that means. When weaning the child caused her pain and frustration, there was at the same time a deep satisfaction that full intercourse was now officially permitted [894] between her and her husband, and that they were free to have another child.

562 These skills of management, and of order and dignity in
461 serving, were not however only seen in large-scale operations.
592 The modern young Ngoni wife serving tea and 'scones' to her husband's guests sitting on his veranda showed the same qualities of careful preparation and considerate service as her grandmother had shown presiding over 500 guests at a wedding feast.

562 Household management in Ngoni homes included primarily managing the household staff, allotting their tasks to them, settling their quarrels, looking after them when sick, marrying off the young ones when the time came. In the all-important aspect of feeding a large household and its dependents, Ngoni women assumed responsibility for seeing that there were enough supplies of different kinds of food at hand, for regular consumption and for emergencies. They consulted at times with the 'official' who was in charge of their 'house' about mobilising supplies or organising women helpers to cultivate in the gardens. Most significant in the eyes of Ngoni and non-Ngoni alike was the task of Ngoni [264] women of 'dividing the food' at every meal-time. It was a key concept in Ngoni culture that at all times when food, beer, or other kinds of goods were to be divided out, and enjoyed or used by a large number of people, the 'one who divided' was an important individual. He, or more often she, must be of 'good character', who assumed, or was given, the task because he or she knew how to do it, and no one questioned the justice or the competence with which the dividing was done. Again I was impressed by the almost nonchalant air with which Ngoni women lofted out food for a large number of individuals and groups. It looked [461] so easy. It was obviously not a simple matter. The results were always accepted and welcomed, and I never heard any grumbles.

● 593 Central to the organisation of the household, and in one
592 sense the axis on which it revolved, was the care and attention the wife gave to her husband. Cooking, including the

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choice and variety of food, was primarily to please him, and 593
to meet the incessant claims on his hospitality when visitors 592
came. A well-ordered and harmonious household also pleased
him, and conversely the sounds of women quarrelling an-
gered him and violated his canons of accepted Ngoni be- [181]
haviour. It was his wife's task to supervise the household 957
helpers, who were mostly non-Ngoni, and to make them 592
conform to Ngoni patterns by controlling their rages, instead
of yelling at each other and hurling accusations of witchcraft
at those with whom they were angry.

Ngoni women also took a serious view of another aspect of 592
pleasing their husbands, namely attention to their person and 593
dress. The old elaborate hair-dressing of Ngoni women, the 592
scrupulous washing of their bodies with sweet-smelling leaves, 515
the use of oil and clarified butter on the skin and hair, and 901
the careful tying and draping of cloths and arranging of
bead headbands and necklaces—these all were forms of
beauty treatment and personal hygiene designed to please
the husband. They also reinforced the self-respect and author- [545]
ity of well-born Ngoni women, marking them out by their
well-groomed appearance from the 'workers' and 'helpers'
who surrounded them.

The young Ngoni child, up to the age of six or seven, grew 592
up in a woman's world of the kind just described. His mother 595
was learning from his paternal grandmother the increasing [406]
duties and responsibilities of an Ngoni wife, although she
was supposed to have learned some of them in her own home
from her mother before marriage. We saw in Chapter II how
the social horizons of a small Ngoni child were never of a
narrow type, restricted to his individual family. The care of
a child, especially between the time of weaning and the
coming of second teeth, was the concern of a number of
women in addition to his own mother, from whom he was
snatched away at weaning, and, for a time at least, kept
away from her household for eating and sleeping.

Among the female population of a village most nearly [544]

855 primarily within his mother's household, but also, and especially immediately after weaning, in his grandmother's household. His needs for food and warmth could in fact be met in any of the households which formed part of his father's house and family group. There was no greater contrast for the small boy about the age of seven between this kind of life in the women's compound and his plunge into the life of the boys' dormitory.

The father's role with young children

862 During day-time in Ngoni villages Ngoni men and women lived almost in two separate worlds, the women in their compounds, the men by the kraal gate or about the village. When important visitors arrived the veranda of the 'big house' be-
864 came a general meeting-place. Chiefs and leading men who
[862] had acquired chairs, among other modern household furni-
[863] ture, preferred to entertain their guests on their own veranda
[862] where they had some degree of privacy, and to offer them chairs to sit on instead of the kraal fence to lean against. This
871 use of chairs which they found more comfortable to sit on brought many of the fathers of families back to their own verandas now and then during the day, though they con-
[869] tinued to eat their meals with the other men at the kraal
[871] gate, and to go there to discuss village affairs and watch over the coming and going of the cattle.

• 873 This change of habit brought the fathers of families into closer touch with their young children, and it was accele-
[877] rated by the growing Christian tradition in which fathers were more closely associated with certain aspects of their children's upbringing. It was the father who arranged for the baptism
[875] of the children which took place in the local church and was a ceremony attended by most of the village, whether Christians or not. When an evangelist or a school-teacher con-
[782] ducted evening prayers, as they often did near the kraal where anyone could come after the evening meal, Christian fathers sometimes carried a child in their arms to the prayers.

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It was the fathers who decided at what age a child should go to school, and having once enrolled the boy or girl and paid the fees, the fathers insisted on regular attendance. 593 [872]

All Ngoni fathers showed affection for their young children, some consistently and others when it occurred to them. They picked them up and carried them about, held their hand while they tried their first steps, listened to their attempts to speak correctly, held them in their arms when they sat on the veranda. In one village twin boys aged four were devoted to their father and he to them. When he walked about, he held a hand of each. When he sat on the veranda they were always beside him and he had an arm round each. When he was elsewhere, the twins wandered about the compound disconsolately, hand in hand, rejecting the advances of their nurse girls and uncertain what to do until he appeared again.

Ngoni fathers had to be consulted in cases of sickness when the grandmother's remedies had failed and specialist help was needed. Then the father and his brothers and their father decided whether to summon a diviner or a herbalist, and arranged for the throwing of lots or the search for 'medicines', and paid the agreed fee when the cure worked. 593 757

It was part of Ngoni tradition to keep the knowledge of death away from young children. The father was held responsible for seeing that his children were kept away from the hut where the corpse was awaiting burial, and from the funeral itself. When men and women of leading Ngoni families were buried at the edge of the kraal, and the fence enlarged so that the cattle stamped over the grave, the explanation given (though it was not the only reason) was that 'the young children should not know or fear death in this village'. 593 764 958

The physical surroundings of the small child

The two diagrams, overleaf, illustrate the layout of the hut and compound in typical Ngoni households. Some of these 342 351

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CHILDREN OF THEIR FATHERS

Young Ngoni children among their siblings and age-mates

● 593 155 The hard-worked theme of sibling rivalry among small children in a family was not obvious among young Ngoni children. I expected to see outbursts of jealousy when the ex-baby returned after weaning to his mother's compound and found another baby installed there. But even with the new baby present, the mother seemed to have time to pet the ex-baby, telling the nurse girl to leave him with her, and there were few overt signs of emotional tension. This was certainly due to a large extent to the nurse-girl pattern, the fenced compound which was the child's home, and the interest of older sisters in their younger brothers and sisters. Young children growing up, as we have seen, were the focus of attention for a group of girls and women of different ages. They were hardly ever in a situation in which they had to struggle to assert themselves against a sibling, or, in their early years, against their age-mates. If they felt slighted or miserable or hungry or tired they could always go to someone to be petted or fed.

Hence their emotional needs for affection and attention never seemed to be unsatisfied. They were accustomed to having their physical needs supplied by any one of several women, and did not depend only on their mother for these needs. Nurse girls and older sisters were often demonstrative to small children, and they got more actual petting from them than from their mother or grandmother. Young children in turn often petted one smaller than themselves, or a new baby, and there was a contented affectionate relationship between children in the home which indicated the absence of any acute sibling rivalry.

857 5b1 From about the age of five or six, boys, who were escaping from the restrictions and security of the compound to the freedom and competition of village life, found a new challenge in a large group of their own age-mates, also just coming out of the younger child seclusion of the home. Boys

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the songs had veiled allusions to sexual intercourse and sex organs but the majority were songs recalling historical events. Others warned young wives against jealousy and strife in polygamous households, and these again were couched in veiled language, because the Ngoni preferred allusive references to anything touching on sex life.

When the girl and her companion emerged from the hut of seclusion, they were fully dressed in a short leather skirt, cut on a circular pattern, and a long leather cloak often trimmed with a fringe of tiny brass bells or small copper beads which were heirlooms belonging to the girl's father's house. The girl who was known as the 'owner of the pre-marriage ceremony' wore strips of meat strung together like beads hanging over her chest. The fat from the kidneys (always used in Ngoni ritual) was twisted into a necklace, and the skins of cows' tails, flayed and spread out were worn hanging from the waist, one in front and one behind. At the close of the ceremonies the skins and fat used for ornament were burned by a stream and the ashes swept into the water —again a typical Ngoni ritual act.

In one sense this ritual was a form of social announcement that the girl was now ready for marriage, and the marriage negotiations and full marriage ceremony followed soon after. It was also a way of emphasizing the father's pride in his daughter, and he showed it by the lavish feasting and beer, by the standard of performance of the dances and songs and by decorating the girl with meat, fat, and skins from the cattle of his house. This was the last act he performed on behalf of his daughter, for the actual marriage ceremony took place at the bridegroom's village. It showed him as a man of substance, because only rich men and leading men could afford the outlay. It also showed the girl as a virtuous woman, for the ritual was never performed unless the girl was a virgin, and the senior women had been able, after examining her, to say to her father: 'Her cattle are full.'

This ritual was given up about the time the missions began

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Wilson suggests that the woman only gradually transferred her place of residence from her father's village to that of her husband.[1] If the husband and wife quarrelled, the woman ran away to her father's village for protection, and had to be persuaded to return by her husband. It is difficult to find out if there was any obligation on the man to labour for his father-in-law. Such an obligation exists to-day, but informants like to maintain that in the past the Ngoni never troubled themselves with agriculture, but lived entirely on beer, meat, and raided crops. But we know from contemporary writers that they did have gardens, although they may perhaps have been cultivated only by recent captives and by women.

An important obligation on the man was to avoid his wife's mother. He did not speak to her, went off into the bush if he met her on a path, and did not pass in front of her hut. With his father-in-law he was formal and reserved, but he did speak to him. These patterns were established at betrothal, and with the passage of years were gradually set aside. The final ceremony in which the man ate with his mother-in-law was the social recognition of his successful performance of the role of son-in-law and of husband to their daughter. Even after this ceremony he could not sit on the same mat as his mother-in-law. The position of the woman in respect to her parents-in-law was much easier, and she did not avoid them or their hut.

As a result of these formal and informal modes of interaction between the man's group and the woman's group, links of affinity were established which cut across the residential system, with its chains of authority and responsibility, superordination and subordination. The common interest of persons bound together by these links was the success of the marriage, and the well-being of the children. A quarrel between a man and his wife led to processes of discussion, deliberation and conciliation involving the two groups. The children of the marriage grew up knowing not only where they belonged politically, but also where they were welcome as sister's sons and daughter's sons. Some children were sent to the father's mother to be reared, some to the mother's mother. The pregnancies of the woman were reported to her own relatives as well as to her husband's.

It is impossible to tell to what extent people consciously planned their marriages and the marriages of their children with the object of ramifying their affinal ties. But we do know that a wife who had been brought from a long way off was regarded more highly than one who came from the same village as her husband, and that a woman who married her cross-cousin was, other things being equal, lower in status than her husband's unrelated other wives. These gradations in status suggest that the value of a marriage which established a link between a man and some hitherto unconnected

[1] Wilson, op. cit. 'Expedition . . .', p. 478, and 'Geschichte . . .', pp. 314-5.

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made with the approval of the dead man's kin. Although by this arrangement the woman was for a while removed from her allotted place in the system, the *status quo ante* was restored with the return of the children to their pater's kinsmen.

8. Segmentation

The primary cleavage among a man's children was between the children of one hand and the children of another. Within a band, the division was into separate 'houses'. Where there were children of more than one mother in the same 'house', that is where the senior wife as well as the linked wife had borne children or where there was more than one fertile linked co-wife with the same senior, the division was between the groups of full siblings. These lines of cleavage were expressed spatially by the arrangements of the huts belonging to each segment. At the top of the political hierarchy, the arrangement of the Paramount Chief's queens determined the major divisions into which the nation was split residentially, with a senior queen in charge of each major royal village, and lesser queens in charge of politically dependent royal villages. At the bottom, the man with two or three wives saw his sons group themselves round their mothers while retaining a common allegience to him.

Thus we see that in 'the time of peace' marriage was tied to a clear-cut residential system based on patrilineal descent and virilocal residence, modified by political status deriving ultimately from the Paramount Chief. The position of males in this system was determinate, although not unalterable. By the processes of marriage males were supplied with legitimate offspring. Although descent and succession were traced through males, the pattern of segmentation of this patrilineal system was determined by the organization of wives. The relative status of co-wives was perpetuated in the relationship between the segments which sprang from them.

In this system the elementary family of man, wife, and children did not emerge as an important grouping. In all serious enterprises a person derived support from his male agnates, and it was to the organized kin that the fertility of the woman was transferred by the payment of bridewealth. By the time a man had advanced in status sufficiently to be head of a division or a village, he had acquired many dependants who were not true kinsmen and his wives had been divided into bands. With the recently captured families, these considerations did not apply with quite the same force, for there were many poor men who had only one wife. These people depended on their political superior for cattle, and the women were to some extent under the control of his great wife, in so far as agricultural work and beer brewing were concerned. Even the rearing of children once they had been weaned was carried on outside the elementary family. Children were sent to their grandmother's house to be trained and indoctrinated with Ngoni values. The recent captives

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855 sent their children to one of the senior wives of their captor. Husband,
593 wife, and unweaned child slept together in the same hut, but their waking lives were spent in association with other and different groups of people.

631 In view of what has happened in modern times, we must draw
554 attention to two features of the residential system which were not,
591 at that time, directly related to the processes of marriage. A man lived where he belonged politically, and the residential system was an integral part of the political organization of the state. A man's place in it was determined by birth, and could not be altered except by the intervention of his political superiors. He could not change his political affiliation merely by going to live in another village or division or cluster, while if he received political promotion, or if his segment was punished by the State, the change of status was sometimes accompanied by change of residence. Secondly, choice within the system was expressed by hiving-off, not by moving about. The variable factor within any segment was the extent to which the potential cleavages within it were made actual cleavages. A man decided whether he would continue to live in the same cluster or division as his elder brother and depend on the common herd, or whether he would establish his own cluster with its own herd and own spatial identity. He did not have to decide whether he would continue to attach himself to one lieutenant or royal headquarters or whether he would transfer his allegiance to another. In this he had no choice. Choice lay in the extent of segmentation, not in the location of allegiance. We shall see that changes in these features
[178] in the residential system have in recent times been related to changes in marriage.

581 Marriage in 'the time of peace' was essentially a means by which
613 agnatic segments, unable by the fact of exogamy to produce their own children, were provided with child-bearers from outside the segment. A woman was associated as a child-bearer with a definite point in her husband's agnatic segment, and this association was permanent. The biological determinants of child-rearing strengthened the permanence of the association. To bear a child for her husband's agnatic segment, in any system of this general type, a woman must be associated with it for three years or more, from conception to weaning; and as one child is weaned, the next is on the way. One man can beget children for his agnatic line by many wives at the same time, but a woman can produce for only one husband at a time. Thus while it is possible to maintain stable exogamous matrilineal groupings without fixing permanently the
[582] reproductive powers of men, agnatic exogamous groupings, if they are to persist in time, must be supplied with permanent sources of fertility from outside. The old Ngoni marriage system did this.
[178] We shall see that nowadays both the permanent transfer of fertility and the persisting agnatic groupings have disappeared.

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The Native

courts themselves have been influenced by the introduction of Christian rites, and in matters of divorce have been subject to pressure from the missions.

4. The punishment of adultery

The Administration prevented Ngoni from killing adulterers. Instead they changed adultery into a private delict, without specifying what damages could be awarded. Indeed the whole position of indigenous tribunals was equivocal until 1929, when the Native Courts Ordinance was passed. Until then no specific courts were recognised other than those presided over by White officers of the Administration. At the same time the Administration expected chiefs and others to maintain law and order and formally listed their duties in these terms. The chiefs had therefore to extemporize and administer traditional law as best they could. Since 1929 Native Courts have been recognised and the Administration has in the main supported the decisions reached in these courts. The law as administered now is certainly not the same as it was before 1898 and the differences are not merely the substitution of 'civilised' penalties for those 'repugnant to natural justice and morality'. Nor is the law identical with English or Roman-Dutch law. The law of adultery and divorce is adapted to a situation in which bridewealth is rarely paid, wives are left deserted for years by their husbands, and the custody of children is uncertain and dependent on the agreement of the children themselves.

5. Labour migration

Labour migration began in 1898 and since then there has been a continual flow of men and women seeking work in the mining towns of Southern Rhodesia and on the railway line of Northern Rhodesia. The constant absence of men away at work leaving their wives behind has made for a preponderance of women over men in the rural area and has led to more adultery and to the emergence of pleas for divorce on ground of desertion. The increasing number of wives who accompany or follow their husbands had enlarged the social field within which the marriage relationship operates so that a quarrel between a man and his wife in town may be referred for resolution to kinsmen many hundreds of miles away in the village. Men marry fresh wives in the towns and bring them home years later with many children. Two people living in villages may trace their relationship to each other through some half-forgotten migrant in the towns.

In 'the time of peace' marriage was a process by which an established social structure was maintained and developed. That structure has gone and Ngoni now live in a world of larger scale and greater social mobility. Marriage has become something by which local stability of relationship is maintained despite the fluidity of society as a whole. A man moves from village to village, from

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one mining town to the next, sleeps for a night with a prostitute and lives for years with a concubine. What is at least relatively permanent in his relationship to his wife and to his children by her. Men still hope that they will be able to gather their children about them as they grow old, and build up new villages so that their names will be remembered. Status is still measured in terms of dependants, and the most certain of all dependants are legitimate children. Ngoni marriage no longer automatically ensures that a man will have custody of his children, but without marriage he has no hope at all of retaining them.

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much opportunity for a man to assess his sweetheart's domestic efficiency and moral character, but he can get information on these matters from other people who live in her vicinity. When he sees a girl in a distant village where he is staying, he has more leisure to see what she is like and can ask his own hosts about her character. Girls visit in the same way as men, and if a girl is anxious to get a husband and fears she may not find one, she may spend most of her time visiting in different villages hoping to attract a suitable man. There is more time for visiting and flirting at the end of the dry season when there is little work to do in the gardens, but marriages are contracted throughout the year.[1]

Young men say that what they like in a girl is a light skin colour, a pretty face, and the ability to dance and to copulate well. Some men, however, say that such a girl might be all right to run after, but for marriage one would also need to know that she could cook porridge. Women say they like a man who is well dressed, who has a good job working for a European, and who has a parting in his hair. Women sometimes wear medicines which are believed to attract men, and men who have no good clothes may borrow the clothes of others in order to attract women.

3. Sexual partners

The relationship between a man and his wife, at least for the first years of their marriage, is spoken of principally in sexual terms, and the sexual activities of the couple are more closely defined by the marriage bond than are their residence and their economic life. Informants say that the reason for the existence of marriage is either 'the work in the house', a euphemism for copulation, or else 'clothes', that is, so that a woman may have someone to buy clothes for her. It is, however, much easier to improvise alternative solutions to the problem of clothing than it is to find alternative means of sexual satisfaction without coming into conflict with law and morality. Furthermore, while we have seen in the old days that the main emphasis was on the fertility of the woman, this has now shifted, and it is her skill in copulation rather than her success in childbearing that is emphasised. Fertility is still valued, but does not appear to form so important a theme in ceremonial, songs, and gossip as among other societies where the principle of unilineal descent has not broken down, and where, therefore, fertility either of a man's wife or of his sister, is a vital necessity for the maintenance of local structure.

The husband-wife relationship is one in which the man is apparently superordinate to his wife, but we shall see that in practice this superordination is not as clear-cut as might at first appear. It is furthermore a relationship in which there are certain prescribed mutual obligations, so that if these obligations are neglected, it is

[1] Cf. Young and Banda, *Our African Way of Life*, p. 60.

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necessary to take formal action to restore harmony. Husband and wife still remain separate persons, separated socially by their distinct roles. Yet they are bound together by economic ties, by symbolic procedures, and by mystical connexion.

The sexual rights and obligations of husband and wife in each other are not symmetrical. A man has exclusive sexual rights over his wife, but a woman cannot gain exclusive sexual rights over her husband. Her husband can take other wives, or commit adultery, and she has no ground in law for complaint unless at the same time he neglects her. The most she can do is to make life so unpleasant for him that rather than face her anger he decides to sleep with her alone. Mystical procedures are available to both man and wife, and while a husband may use medicines to safeguard that which is his by right, a wife uses medicines to augment her other sanctions, such as the threat of not cooking food for her husband or of running away to her relatives. There is one class of medicines[6] which a man can administer to his wife by cicatrization which it is believed will cause any lover of the woman to die. Another magical procedure is stated to prevent the lover from withdrawing after coitus, so that the adulterous pair will have to reveal themselves to their neighbours in order to gain medical assistance. These medicines are said to be favoured by men going off to Southern Rhodesia without their wives. It is difficult to tell to what extent they are actually administered, but the belief in their efficacy is wide-spread, and people would comment that so-and-so who was ill had become so because he had slept with a woman doctored in this way, and that the scars on such-and-such a woman were made when her husband had given her this sort of medicine. On the other hand a woman may use medicine[7] to prevent her husband from copulating with anyone else, and there are other medicines which act as love charms or which encourage the husband to stay at home at night.[8] The beliefs about difficult labour and *mdulo*[9] also have a stabilizing effect in that the man may fear for the fate of his child and for that reason be faithful to his wife while she is pregnant. On the other hand it is believed that a rejected lover can give medicine[10] to a woman who resists his approaches, so that she will die or have difficulties in childbirth. The only way for a woman to avoid this hazard is to live demurely and not to excite the attention of other men.

If a woman believes that her husband is committing adultery with

[6] Known as *bukondo*. There are at least four varieties of this, associated with different medicines all of which are fatal to the adulterer. Cf. *bukondo* in Colson, *Marriage among the Plateau Tonga* (Rhodes-Livingstone Papers—forthcoming).

[7] *Ndemanga*. See below, p. 58.

[8] E.g., medicine made from the house lizard (*mbolokiko*) and the domesticated cat, because these animals are always in the house and do not wander about.

[9] See below, p. 48.

[10] *Kalowatila*, from the name of the species of frog from which it is made.

believes that her husband is committing adultery with another woman she endeavours to find out who the woman is. She usually refuses to speak to her when they meet, and if they are forced to come into contact, as at a beer party, there is likely to be a fight between them. A parturient woman may ask her midwife to pretend that there are difficulties in labour so that her husband can be called upon to confess his adultery and name his mistress.

The sexual aspect of marriage influences the training and experiences of children. The explanation given for moving children from their parents' hut to a dormitory at the age of six or seven is that by then children are 'wise enough' and will talk to their playmates about their parents' sexual activities in the hut. Girls aged five years or so start to imitate the dances of their elders and to join in the dance competitions when girls come from other villages. Many of the songs sung at these dances are concerned with various aspects of sexual relations. At age ten, or sometimes earlier they also begin to practice the most important of the women's erotic dances, *cimwangalala*,[13] which is performed only indoors. At a girl's first menstruation she is secluded for from a few days up to a month, and is tested by women who have borne children to see that she can dance *cimwangalala* and other erotic dances effectively, that she knows the formalities of copulation, and how to behave when she menstruates. Even where the girl is secluded for the full month, and her training is accompanied by a great deal of symbolism and ceremonial, there is little reference to her potential fertility.

There is no formal instruction in sexual matters for boys, and there are no erotic dances for them. They learn their sexlore from their older companions in the bush or in the dormitory. The only specific aspect of sexual maturation that appears to receive emphasis is the growth of large testicles, and boys brew themselves medicines to expedite this.

Both fertility and sexual satisfaction can be facilitated by the use of medicines. There is a well-known medicine for the cure of barrenness, and there are many kinds of aphrodisiacs.[14] A girl learns the use of aphrodisiacs from other women in the village, and she is formally taught sexual behaviour by her puberty instructress.[15] The old woman who is in charge of her puberty seclusion, who is sometimes the girl's grandmother, supervises the sexual behaviour of the girl for the first few years of her married life. If, as a bride, she succeeds in forcing her husband to give her a present before she will lie with him, the present must be handed over to the puberty instructress the next morning. Later she may demonstrate her erotic proficiency by dancing[16] in the hut before her husband and her instructress.

[13] Meaning, in Nsenga, 'the thing of you just sleeping' (i.e. copulating).
[14] Such as *mintolo*, a root, and *kajalajala*, a plant.
[15] *Mphungu*.
[16] The dance is called *sikapa*. Cf. Nyanja *kapakapa*, swinging backwards and forwards.

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Girls are not examined to see if they have been deflowered. Many girls have love affairs with young boys before they reach puberty, and at one time children built play-houses, after the manner of the Cewa, where they pretended to be adults playing at cooking and copulation. The Cewa encouraged this among their own children and at puberty Cewa girls, if not already deflowered, had their hymen forcibly ruptured in a prescribed manner. We have seen that the Ngoni formerly expected girls to be chaste before marriage while the Cewa believed that if a girl did not copulate at puberty she would die. It seems nowadays that adults expect that pre-pubescent boys and girls will play together sexually and that, provided this takes place with a certain amount of discretion, nothing is done to stop it. Boys and girls visit each other in dormitories, hoping that their voices will not be recognized by people in neighbouring huts. After puberty young men and women continue to flirt together, individuals varying in the extent to which they copulate. Grown men do not usually sleep with young girls, nor grown women with young boys, and if this does happen and is discovered there is always the suspicion of sorcery. The Ngoni believe, with most of their neighbours, that in order to make many of the anti-social medicines of sorcery effective, a sorcerer must copulate with some partner morally forbidden to him (or her), such as a close relative or a person of greatly disparate age or an animal. With this background of belief, Ngoni say that after puberty young men and women naturally like to frolic together and not with their juniors. Within this framework of tolerated covert activity no particular arrangements are made at puberty, save that if a man is betrothed to a young girl he will be invited formally to come and sleep with her once while she is secluded.

Thus from an early age their future roles as husbands and wives condition the sexual activities of boys and girls. A girl who allows herself to be seduced too easily is regarded as foolish and a man who is for ever chasing unmarried girls when he should be founding a family is regarded as immature. But sexual activity is taken for granted, and the only stipulations are that it should be conducted discreetly so that the older people in the village are not forced to notice it, and that unmarried girls should not bear live children. Knowledge of abortifacients seems to be fairly common and recently contraceptives, issued originally to soldiers in the 1939-45 war, have come into use. Few cases of seduction of unmarried girls come before the courts.

Despite the emphasis on sexual satisfaction rather than on fertility, Ngoni men and women still desire children. This is so for men despite the low incidence of bridewealth payments and the uncertainty about the custody of children. A man's children may decide to live with their mother's people, but they are still his children and he can always follow them from village to village in his old age wherever they decide to settle.

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one instance where the woman ran off with the man called in by her sterile husband.

4. The legal relationship

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Emphasis on sexual partnership is characteristic of the beginning of marriage. Young people are 'foolish', dance all night long and sleep late in the morning. With the arrival of children, man and wife emerge from the tutelage of their elders and non-sexual aspects of their marriage relationship gain in importance. Even then the importance of sexual satisfaction is not forgotten. People say openly of a woman who obstructs her husband when he seeks a second wife, 'She is too fond of his penis', and old widows explain their failure to remarry by saying 'Our joints are too stiff to copulate'.

[851]

Nevertheless at all times there is a great deal more in Ngoni marriage than mere sexual partnership. The obligations and duties of husband and wife towards each other and each other's kin are determined by the marriage payments and ratified by the ceremonies of marriage. These obligations persist despite the fluctuations of sexual attraction. We have seen that in 'the time of peace' the two principal transfers were 'snuff-box' and bridewealth. Today the position is different and the rights transferred by the marriage payments are different. For simplicity we may discuss the latter payment first. Bridewealth is still recognised but, as can be seen from Table V, is paid in only about four per cent of all marriages. It consists of a payment of one or more beasts or £8 made by the man to his wife's father.[10] If only one cow is offered and it dies before calving, it must be replaced. Some indication of the range of variation in amounts paid is given by Table VI.

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This sample of only twelve payments is very small, but there is some indication that the amount paid has decreased in recent years. This is of interest in view of the general rise in the standard of wealth and in the amount offered as legalization payment.

[851]

By the payment of bridewealth a man ensures that all the children of his wife, by whatever genitor, shall, or rather ought to, belong to his group of relatives and live in his village when they grow up. The payment is made only after several children have been born. In the old days, if this payment was made, the children were legitimate and lived in their father's segment, and if it was not paid they could be claimed by their mother's father's segment. In these days there is no such hard and fast rule. Everyone has in effect a large choice of places where he can live, and the payment or non-payment of bridewealth for his mother is only one factor operating with many others in influencing his decisions. It is not surprising that so few people pay bridewealth.

[10] For comparative figures for the Ngoni of Southern Nyasaland, see Read, 'Native standards of living and African cultural change', *Africa* xi (1938), 3, supplement, p. 38.

♀	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	2
♂	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
♂	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	2
Total number of tribesmen	0	0	0	10	24	31	80	13	3	159
Unknown	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2
Grand total	1	4	15	24	33	30	83	13	3	214
Median value of pay-ments	—	—	8s.	8s.	8s.	10s.	£1.10s.	£1.10s.	—	£1.10s.
Aver-age value	—	—	8s. 6d.	12s.	13s.	20s.	28s.6d.	41s.	14s.	34s.6d.

Informants as in Table VIII

tion payment, where the payment is made in kind, that is, one beast, and not in money. This is a straightforward continuation of the old usage, for we have seen that it was by the payment of 'snuff-box', consisting of one beast, that a man established his exclusive sexual rights over his wife. Nowadays few people offer a beast as legalization payment. The word can be used in another sense to indicate any small present made by the man to the wife's father at the beginning of the marriage negotiations, as an indication that he intends to make the proper and more substantial legalization payment later on. A present of this kind is not recoverable, and consists of a shilling, a half-crown, a chicken, tobacco or a cloth. It conveys no rights at all.[1]

The legalization payment by no means completely transfers the woman to her husband's group. Her kinsfolk retain an active interest in her welfare, and are her refuge from her husband's wrath. They intervene to preserve the marriage when otherwise it would end in hatred and divorce. The husband must see that they are formally told whenever his wife becomes pregnant, and if she dies

[1] These small presents are also called *cawulomo*, or *cawulomulomo*, literally in Nsenga, 'the thing of opening a lip'.

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in childbirth the husband is held to be responsible at least in part. He must pay one cow[1] to the dead woman's kin to appease them. It is said that if bridewealth has been paid the man need not pay another beast, but that the woman's relatives would take a beast from the bridewealth and kill that in order to mourn their kinswoman.

The separation of interest that continues even after a marriage has been contracted is demonstrated by the payments which husband and wife are required to make to each other. Although they use many things in common, their possessions are thought of as belonging either to the one or the other. A man may own chickens, although his wife looks after them for him, while a woman may own a beast and let her husband care for it. If husband and wife quarrel the one who apologizes may offer a chicken to the other to make peace. These payments are in part enforced by public opinion

Table VIII. Incidence of legislative payment, by decades

Legislative payment	Date of marriage									Total
	1879-87	1888-97	1898-1907	1908-17	1918-27	1928-37	1938-47	1948-9	Not known	
Offered and accepted ..	1	4	18	34	33	24	42	19	3	226
Offered but refused	–	–	–	1	–	1	3	–	–	5
Not offered ..	–	9	12	21	20	27	36	9	4	135
Total	1	13	37	56	53	52	81	28	7	368
Ratio of offers to total number ..	100%	31%	86%	63%	53%	53%	74%	81%	—	62%
Not known if offer was made or accepted ..	1	3	7	6	14	11	17	8	3	70
Grand total ..	2	16	34	62	76	69	133	34	10	438

Informants

	Used	Potential	% Used
Men	122	135	90·4
Women	232	251	92·4
Total	354	386	91·7

Number of marriages in which both partners were informants 122

[1] Called *malowa*, from the Nsenga verb, *ku-lowa*, to bite or chew. The corresponding payment among the Cewa is said to be called *mkupo* or *nkupo*. Cf. Young, op. cit., p. 62.

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and pressure from kinsmen, but also occur within the intimacy of life in the hut. Husband and wife shave each other's pubic hair and if either cuts the flesh of the other, he or she must offer a chicken in compensation. It is said that if this is not done, then the injured person will shame the other by telling people about the incident. A man cannot take the produce of his wife's garden without her permission, even though he may have done most of the work in it and have originally provided the land for her. In court, a woman may be ordered to pay her husband damages, or a husband to pay his wife, and this is done without terminating the marriage, and despite the general principle that a husband ought to be financially responsible for his wife.

The social distance that separates man and wife never completely vanishes, while on the other hand there are formal ways of increasing it. When the divergence of interest becomes too great divorce is the usual solution, but before that stage is reached there are various procedures by which the danger of open conflict is reduced. A wife expresses her dissatisfaction with her husband by failing to cook food for him or by running away from him, that is, by non-co-operation in the domestic unit. For his part he can retaliate by staying away from her night after night, by not clothing her, and so on. When the stage in the quarrel is reached at which the man 'leaves his wife in disgust',[88] he formally indicates that he cannot maintain friendly relations with her, but that he does not wish to divorce her. It is re-establishment of the marriage relationship at a different level. He never sleeps with her, but he must continue to clothe her and to help her in her garden. If she is his great wife he must appear on her verandah during the daytime. Outwardly the position has not changed. Yet everyone knows that they do not sleep together and that there is coldness between them. The state of affairs can be ended if and when the couple become reconciled on their own account or because of the pressure of kinsfolk. It is a procedure favoured by chiefs, who have many wives and who do not wish to incur the disgrace still attaching to divorce in aristocratic circles. Some men purport to adopt this procedure when their real intention is to provoke their wives into committing adultery.

5. Co-operation between husband and wife

Despite the separation between the couple there is a very great deal of co-operation between them. A man must see that his wife is clothed and housed, and that she has a garden of her own; and to a large extent he is responsible before the court for her actions. A woman must feed her husband, provide hospitality for his friends, and

[88] *Kuduma mkazi.* The verb *ku-duma* is also used when a man eating porridge sees a visitor coming and hides the porridge rather than share it with him. The verb may perhaps be derived from the same root as the Zulu *uku-duda*, to ignore, leave unnoticed.

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brew beer when her husband asks her. In addition to this minimal amount of required co-operation, in many instances husband and wife have a great deal in common. They may go to church or visit a relative, or even go together to a beer party.

The obligation on a man to clothe his wife is the most clear-cut and obvious duty in marriage. It is the failure to clothe that is usually cited as evidence of desertion when a woman seeks a divorce. There is no specific standard to which he must clothe her, but she usually insists that she is not to be more poorly clad than are her neighbours. Clothes consisted in the old days of skins and barkcloth, but cloth was introduced by Arabs before the Europeans arrived, and was used as a form of currency by the early European settlers. A few people still wear skins, but only on top of Western clothing. There is no indigenous weaving, and all clothes have therefore to be bought in the shops.

The man takes the initiative in finding a hut in which he and his wife live, and it is he who undertakes the major work of repair. Houses, if made of bamboo, last for about twenty years, but require rethatching, while pole and mud huts last about eight years only. When a couple begin to live together they usually borrow an empty hut in the village, asking the man or woman who is looking after the hut if they can move in. No charge can be made for the loan of a hut. If the marriage begins uxorilocally, and the woman has previously been living in a dormitory, she may ask the other girls in the dormitory to go and sleep elsewhere until her husband can build her a hut of her own. The man does the work of marking out the site, digging the foundations, cutting the trees for the framework, and so on. All these are men's jobs, and he may be assisted in the work by his male neighbours and relatives. His wife gathers thatching grass, but the men do the actual thatching. The finishing of the house is entirely the wife's work, and she usually gets her friends and relatives to help her plaster the walls and floor. The maintenance of the plaster remains her responsibility and she ought to renew the floor every month after she has menstruated.

Every wife ought to have her own garden, and, sooner or later, her own storehouse. Most young people acquire gardens of their own long before they marry, but continue to pool the produce of the garden with the adult responsible for feeding them. This arrangement continues after marriage, and the incoming spouse at first merely assists in the garden of the other and is fed from the common storehouse of his or her parents or relatives. If a woman has been living with her grandmother and her husband comes to live with her, the couple draw on the wife's grandmother's storehouse for their food, and place the produce of the wife's garden in it. Similarly, in virilocal marriage, a woman may at first help in her husband's garden and draw from his mother's storehouse. But after a year or two, if a man is not to be despised as a sluggard, he must build a storehouse in the village where they have settled, and see that there is

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an adequate garden for his wife. He may clear a fresh garden on rejuvenated land, or enlarge his own or his wife's garden, depending on how they are placed. It is usually not until much later in the marriage that a man starts a garden of his own, distinct from the one nominally owned by his wife. The work of clearing a new place for a garden is not, among the Ngoni, necessarily a man's job, and can be undertaken by a woman alone if she has no man to assist her. If the husband is present, he does most of the tree felling, and his wife breaks up the new ground with her hoe. 591 241 343 241 962

The planting, weeding, and cultivating are all done by both men and women, and during the wet season a man goes to the garden with his wife early in the morning and they both work there until they are tired. Later, when the growing crop has to be protected against monkeys by day and wild pigs by night, they both spend long hours on watch in the garden shelter. At harvest, both cut down the maize and lift the ground crops, but only the woman can carry the produce to the village. If the man helps, it is by bringing a cart or sledge and taking home a large load pulled by oxen. [592]

In the other subsistence pursuits of animal husbandry and hunting, there is no co-operation between husband and wife until the animals have been killed, when the woman has to cook the meat. Hunting is entirely a male occupation, and animal husbandry largely so. If a man goes away on a journey, he leaves his cattle in charge of his son or brother or father rather than with his wife. If there is no trustworthy man available, then they become his wife's responsibility, but all she in fact does is to see that the senior herdboy reports to her every evening about the state of the beasts. Small stock such as goats and sheep and pigs may be looked after entirely by the wife, and chickens are likely to be in her care. 224 233 233 962

A man looks to his wife to feed him, and it is considered a reflection on her industry if he does not get enough and has to hang about when his companions are eating in the hope that they will invite him to join them. She feeds him within the exigencies of the food-supply, which often involves semi-starvation in February and March. She is expected to cook competently, and if a woman continually burns the porridge which forms the basis of every meal, there will be strife between her and her husband. If she proves to be a really bad cook her husband may send her home again to be taught properly. 593 262 [252]

Beer-brewing is the work of women, and is a process lasting at least six days even after all the correct ingredients have been mustered. There is some variation with status in the extent to which husbands require their wives to brew beer, and it is in any case a matter in which the woman can take the initiative. Important men and chiefs who have many visitors like to be able to offer beer to their guests, so that queens spend much time brewing. But common men need to conserve their food supplies more carefully, and know that their visitors will be disappointed but not surprised if there is no beer. A woman sometimes brews to sell the beer and gain money to buy herself clothes, if her husband has no money to give her. 273 462 [55A] [54A] [437]

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money to buy herself clothes, if her husband has no money to give her.

In court, when a woman has to pay damages or a fine, she may be able to provide the money from her own resources. If not, she can turn to her husband or to her own kinsfolk. Provided damages for adultery are not involved, her husband, if he is not away working, ought to provide the money and a deliberate refusal to do so would precipitate a major quarrel and the possibility of divorce. If a woman gets into a fight at a party, and has to pay, say, half-a-crown to someone she has hurt, her husband ought to find the money for her. If he refuses to do so though she has no money of her own, the court will say that he no longer loves his wife, and is trying to find an opportunity to divorce her. Indeed, there would be little point in the husband refusing to pay, as those who cannot pay their fines are committed to prison, and he would then lose the services of his wife.

A woman can hold property in her own right and a husband honours a well-loved wife by giving her cattle. Gifts that she gets from her own kinsfolk do not pass to her husband, and such things as blankets and mats that she has used, even if her husband bought them, are regarded as her own property. Even the money that her husband gives her to make specific purchases is her own to do as she pleases with, so that a woman may forgo the skirt for which her husband has given her money and instead give it to her sister to buy something else. Husbands do not always like such actions, but they cannot do anything directly to prevent them. One of the ways in which a wife acquires livestock of her own is by buying animals with the money she gets from her husband for clothes. The produce of a wife's wet-season garden, maize, sorghum, millet, root crops, pulses, cucurbits, is in effect held in common by husband and wife, and neither ought to sell any of it without first consulting the other. On divorce the crops are divided between them unless the court decides that one party did not work in the garden, or has deserted the other. The money a woman earns by brewing beer for sale she usually keeps, although some men say that a woman should hand the money over to her husband, lest he find her with it and suspect that she has earned it by prostitution. In practice, most women seem to keep their own earnings and it is not uncommon, where the husband is a drunkard and weak-willed, for his wife to have custody of his money as well. Indeed the simultaneous operation within the husband-wife relationship of structural separation and social co-operation is well demonstrated by the apparently paradoxical situation, of which I saw two instances, in which a man ordered to pay damages to his wife for fighting her had to ask her to hand him over the money so that he could duly hand it back to her.

6. *Mystical links*

Symbolic expression of the relationship between man and wife is not greatly developed among the Ngoni, and the mystical bonds

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uniting a married couple are weak as compared with say, the Bemba.[44] The bride is anointed with gall, and carries the gall bladder in her hair back to her own village as a sign that she has been through the marriage ceremony and has been instructed in her wifely duties by her husband's kinsfolk and neighbours. But the husband himself is usually not there, 'that day is not his work', and I once saw a man quietly drinking on one side of the village while his bride was being anointed on the other. In general it is not until much later that husband and wife appear together in ceremonial situations. The personal association of husband and wife begins in darkness and the privacy of the hut. Later the wife will have validated her status as a married woman, and can appear as such in public alongside her husband without embarrassment.

It is when a woman is pregnant that her husband's actions are most liable to affect her mystically. In general a man may commit adultery and his wife has no case against him; but when she is pregnant he is under a moral obligation to sleep only with her and, if he is a polygynist, with his other wives. His adultery endangers her life, for it is believed that her labour will be difficult and she or the child may die. The pregnant woman is in mortal danger if she herself commits adultery and there is a common obligation of fidelity on both man and wife throughout pregnancy, accompanied in the eyes of some people by a positive obligation to copulate together so that the foetus may grow strong in the womb. When labour proves difficult, the midwife calls on the husband to confess the adulteries he committed while his wife was pregnant so that the child can be born. She may also tell the woman to confess.[45] If the child is born dead, the woman's relatives begin to suspect that the man confessed only some of his adulteries and concealed others, thereby killing the child. We have already noted that if the woman dies the husband must offer a beast to her kinsfolk (pp. 39f).

From the birth of the child until its umbilical cord has fallen off and it has been doctored, the husband should not sleep with anyone at all, not even with his other wives. He can resume sexual relations with them after the cord has fallen but he does not sleep with the mother of the child until about three months after the birth, when he has ritual intercourse with her and the child is again doctored. While the infant is sleeping the husband has *coitus interruptus* with its mother and allows his semen to fall on her thighs. She smears the semen over her thighs and then takes up the child and gives it to her husband, who rests it on his hips. After a moment he hands the infant back to his wife who also rests it on her hips. The child is then put back to sleep on the mat beside the couple. This ritual intercourse is obligatory in that if it is omitted it is believed the child

[44] Cf. Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[45] Cf. Rattray, *op. cit.*, p. 108, and H. F. Barnes, 'The birth of a Ngoni child' *Man*, xlix (1949), p. 80.

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will die. The child is in danger from the illness known as *ndulo* throughout the period from birth until the resumption of intercourse between its parents. It is not until after this ceremony, known as 'taking up the child' [1] that the mystical link between man, wife, and child is broken and the man free to commit adultery without mystical retribution. Thus while there are *definite* rights and obligations between husband and wife which can be enforced in the courts or are susceptible to the pressure of public opinion there are also in the critical situations of pregnancy and childbirth other mystical forces operating which unite the couple to a greater extent than at any other time. To a lesser extent the same principle operates when a woman menstruates. Her husband is in danger from her menstrual blood. She may not lie on the same mat with him and if he has a bed she must lie on the floor. If he has intercourse with her while she is menstruating he will contract an illness called *kapala* [2] whose symptoms are a very black face, nasal discharge, and continual feeling of cold. After death a man's widows are in danger of *ndulo* if they commit adultery during the first month of mourning.

We see then that the relationship between a man and his wife is partly defined in legal terms, with mutual duties and rights that are enforceable in the courts. This relationship is documentated and validated by the transfer of money and cattle from one group to the other and by the performance of the various marriage ceremonies. Because of the relationship between them, man and wife live together, sleep together, eat together and work together. But above all, together they produce and rear children. It is primarily because of these children that the kin of man and wife are concerned in the marriage relationship. It is during the long process of producing children that the two spouses are most closely associated with each other, and actions of the one in some mystical way directly and automatically influence the well-being of the other.

When a marriage grows out of flirtation between a young man and a young woman, there is at first sexual attraction between them. With the passage of time this may give place to a broader sentiment of mutual affection and respect. To this extent we may say that man and wife come to love each other. But whereas young men frequently discuss with other men the attraction they experience towards women, unmarried or married, they do not do this when they have settled down and begun to acquire prestige in the community. A man may quarrel with his wife in public, but he never expresses his affection for her, save in the intimacies of the hut. Men and women mourn their spouses with great lamentation at funerals, but while this may sometimes be the expression of a personal

[1] *Kutola mwana*. Cf. *kutenga mwana* among the Cewa.

[2] Cf. Read, op. cit., 'The moral code . . .', p. 19, where she describes a medicine called *ngala* with which men doctored their wives so that their lovers would die of a wasting sickness. Also cf. Zulu *ubungala*.

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narrow, it is not necessarily always so, for loud wailing and tears are appropriate at the death of all neighbours and kinsfolk, whether friends or enemies. Men do not usually seek the companionship of their wives at dances and beer parties, although there are some men who do. In our own society we think of a man earning his living in company with other men, but spending his leisure with his wife. By contrast Ngoni men work in the gardens with their wives but seek other company for recreation.

7. Divorce

The relationship between husband and wife can be terminated by death or by divorce. If one spouse dies, then his or her interest in the marriage is guarded by the surviving kinsfolk, and we shall deal with their actions in our next chapter as part of the intervention of affines in a marriage. In divorce, however, except in cases of desertion, both husband and wife are themselves involved and it is primarily by their own actions, rather than by the actions of their kinsmen, that the marriage is terminated.

While a marriage is established without reference to the Ngoni state organization, except in so far as the issue of a marriage certificate is concerned, divorce more frequently involves resort to the Native courts. It is possible to effect divorce without taking the matter to the court, and in the past, before the growth of the Native Authority bureaucracy had begun, many people were divorced in the village. Kinsfolk of the two parties meet together in the village of one or other party, discuss the marriage, and agree among themselves that the couple are to be divorced. The formal act of divorce is made by the couple shaking hands with each other, while those present tell them to stop hating each other. The woman is told 'If this man comes as a traveller to your house, and asks for water, do not refuse him'.

It is more usual for a divorce to be referred to the court. Attempts are made by the kinsfolk to resolve the quarrel, if quarrel there is, and when the attempts fail, the group seeking the divorce or hoping to get damages from the other side take the matter to the county Native Court. It is open to either the man or the woman to take the initiative in this matter. The court hears the case, awards damages as appropriate, and, if it thinks fit, declares the couple divorced. The formal act of shaking hands is sometimes performed in court, but is often dispensed with.

Divorce takes place in the village only when there is substantial agreement on both sides that it would be a mistake to allow the marriage to continue. The meeting of kinsfolk in the village may reach agreement about the return of the legalization payment or even the award of damages, but it is only the court that has power to enforce decisions of this kind, and it is to the court that disputants turn when they cannot agree. When a man wishes to divorce his wife on the ground of her adultery he usually does so through the

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is normally irrevocable and couples do not often go back to each other. If a wife does go back soon after a divorce people laugh at her for having caused trouble over nothing. A husband may sometimes assert that his wife has been divorced without his approval, perhaps while he was away working, but such complaints go unanswered for it is in the interests of the court to uphold its own decisions. Even if a man is living in the rural area his wife may get a divorce if he refuses to go to court to defend his case. In addition he runs the risk of a fine for contempt of court. The somewhat lengthy process by which a woman can get her divorce despite the obstruction of her husband is illustrated by the following account of a court case.

Case history 3

In April 1946 Zachariah, a man holding the royal drummer-name and married to Ruth and Naomi, began to make advances to a recently divorced

Table X. Marital experience of females, by age, 1946-9

Pre-cise age in years	Marital experience													
	All females								Widdid females only					
	Number of marriages entered into since birth								Number of divorces experienced since birth					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	Not known	Total	0	1	2	3	Not known	Total
0-4	58	–	–	–	–	–	–	58	–	–	–	–	–	0
5-9	63	–	–	–	–	–	–	63	–	–	–	–	–	0
10-14	54	–	–	–	–	–	–	54	–	–	–	–	–	0
15-19	20	22	1	–	–	–	1	45	23	1	–	–	1	25
20-24	–	20	3	–	–	–	1	24	19	2	2	–	1	24
25-29	–	24	4	–	–	–	1	29	23	4	1	–	1	29
30-34	1	18	4	1	–	–	2	25	18	4	–	–	2	22
35-39	–	12	7	2	–	–	2	23	16	4	1	–	2	23
40-44	–	10	5	2	1	–	–	18	10	6	2	–	–	18
45-49	–	5	11	–	1	–	–	17	11	3	–	1	–	17
50-54	–	6	7	–	1	–	–	14	7	3	1	1	–	14
55-59	–	7	5	1	–	–	–	13	10	2	–	1	–	13
60-64	–	9	4	1	–	–	1	15	12	1	1	–	1	15
65-69	–	5	5	–	–	1	–	11	8	2	–	–	1	11
70-74	–	3	3	–	–	–	–	6	6	–	–	–	–	6
75-79	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	1
80-84	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	1
Not known	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	4	–	–	–	–	4	4
Total	196	140	80	7	3	1	12	421	162	37	8	3	13	223

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woman who lived near the place where he was working, with the idea of taking her as his third wife. Ruth, the great wife, was living with Zachariah at the time, and tried to prevent him from marrying this woman. Zachariah desisted but then became so angry with Ruth that he gave her sixpence and said she was divorced. She went back to her village, saying she would get a divorce in the court. She stayed at her father's village for some time and then went back to her husband.

In October there was another quarrel between Ruth and Zachariah. According to Zachariah he told his wife to bring some tobacco from inside the hut and she refused, whereupon there was a fight. Ruth took the matter to court, complaining that in the fight Zachariah had hurt her so

Table XI. Divorce ratios

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Ratio	Value
A	28·5% (115/403)
B	55·8% (115/206)
C	36·9% (115/312)

Legend

A The number of marriages ended in divorce expressed as a percentage of all marriages

B The number of marriages ended in divorce expressed as a percentage of all completed marriages

C The number of marriages ended in divorce expressed as a percentage of all marriages except those ended by death

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Informants

	Used	Potential	% Used
Men	117	136	86·0
Women	222	251	88·4
Total	339	387	87·6

Number of marriages in which both partners were informants 111

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badly that she had had to go to hospital. She produced a letter from the White doctor by way of evidence. Ruth's father testified that Ruth was the first wife Zachariah had married, yet despite this he fought her and did not fight with his second wife Naomi. Ruth asked the court to divorce her as she feared she would be killed by Zachariah. A court councillor said that although she and her husband had been to the court before with their troubles, it was not the work of the court to force men and women to divorce one another but to instruct them how to live together in peace. Zachariah was ordered to pay two pounds damages to Ruth and ten shillings fine to the court. Zachariah agreed to pay the fine but refused to pay the damages. The chief, who was in court at the time, asked him if he said this because of his royal descent-name. If Zachariah persisted in his attitude the chief would write to his employer and tell him to deduct the money from his wages. Zachariah then said he would send a boy back to collect the two pounds from his village.

Ruth went to her own village. About this time Zachariah was transferred to another area, distant from Ruth's village. In November Ruth's father began to complain that the two pounds had not yet been paid and said that Zachariah was trying to trap his wife by not visiting her, hoping she would commit adultery.

In February 1948 Ruth took out a summons against Zachariah for failing to come and visit her despite the ruling of the court in October that they were not to be divorced. The summons was sent to Zachariah in another county and Zachariah wrote back to a court councillor to say that he would not come to court as he had heard that Ruth was committing adultery with a certain man. On receiving the letter the chief said nothing could be done about it until Zachariah decided to bring an action for adultery against Ruth.

By this time Zachariah had acquired another wife and when in March he was given leave he took the new wife to his own village where his second wife Naomi had been living all the time.

In December 1948 Ruth brought an action against Zachariah for divorce on the ground of his desertion. Three times the case was down for hearing but Zachariah never appeared. The court then divorced Ruth with no damages to pay.

Hearing this Zachariah went to the District Officer and asked why his wife had been divorced without his knowledge. The District Officer referred him to the chief. Zachariah wrote a rather facetious letter to the chief challenging his right to divorce Ruth. The court clerk read the letter and said that Zachariah ought to be fined for insulting the chief. He observed that Ruth's mother had died in September and that Zachariah must be a cruel man as he had not gone to offer his condolences.

586 It is easier for a woman to prove desertion in a case like this where the man is living in the rural area, than when he is away in the town working and writes sporadically if at all. The court feels that it is under an obligation to the migrant labourers of the tribe not to divorce their wives too easily. But if a husband is in the area and could perfectly easily go and see his wife, it is much easier to demonstrate that the desertion is deliberate and sustained, and not merely forced on a man by the exigencies of earning a living.

586 178 We have seen that the two main grounds for divorce are adultery and desertion. Some Whites express this by saying that these are the main causes of divorce among the Ngoni and other tribes. The Ngoni do not see the matter in this light. The cause of divorce to them is the presence of the White group. Old men deplore the

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apparent ease with which women get divorces and councillors say that they divorce people only because the Administration would interfere if they did not. We can see that in one sense the Ngoni analysis is correct. Whatever may be the precipitating causes of particular divorces, one basic factor is that the old social order in which divorce was rare has been replaced, through a series of events beginning with the White conquest, by a different form of social structure in which wives are relatively mobile from one husband to another. Adultery and desertion lead to divorce because it is no longer necessary to tie down the fertility of women to definite points in a segmentary system based on patrilineal descent, and this is so because the system no longer exists. It is true that the Roman Catholic and Anglican Missions do not recognize divorce but ecclesiastical ceremonies have no force in law, either in the eyes of the Administration or of the Native Courts, and the sanctions utilized by these missions do not entirely prevent their members seeking divorce.

Immediately after a divorce the couple usually wish to have little to do with one another. After the passage of years the hostility between them fades away and they may talk to one another in the ordinary course of village life. They continue to address each other as *husband* and *wife* and their children, although nominally in the custody of one group or the other continue to visit back and forth and keep the parents informed of each other's doings. A woman now married elsewhere may return to her former husband when their son comes home on leave from work. In her old age a woman may even go back to the man from whom she was divorced a long time ago if she has no one else to turn to for shelter and assistance. More frequently she follows her children to where they are living in her former husband's village but has little to do with him directly, only through their children.

8. Co-wives

We have seen that the rights of a man over his wife's sexual activities are different from hers over his. Whereas a woman who commits adultery pays damages to her husband, he does not pay her when he commits adultery. This lack of symmetry derives from the polygynous nature of the Ngoni marriage system. A man can always argue that he is seeking another wife, even if the woman he is running after is married to someone else. It is considered no business of his wife to interfere. She may attempt to stop him but all she can use are domestic and mystical sanctions, she cannot appeal to the law. Again, a wife has no right to the sexual monopoly of her husband and cannot prevent him from taking additional wives except by making his life with her so difficult that he decides to abandon the attempt.

As can be seen from Table III, about one man in seven has two or more wives. Although the Christian Missions do not tolerate

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polygyny, and punish their members who take additional wives, there are still a number of Christian polygynists who for most purposes align themselves with the Christian group.

As in the old days, the wives of a polygynist are ranked in the chronological order of marriage, the first wife married being the great wife. If, however, bridewealth has been paid, the wives married in this way are all senior to those who are married without it. The arrangement by which a barren or aged wife was given a linked co-wife (*nshanzi*) has now almost disappeared. A young girl may still be indicated as a linked co-wife designate at the gall bladder ceremony of her kinswoman and the intestines placed round her neck, but this is now a mere ceremonial, and the girl marries elsewhere when she grows up. As mentioned above a chief negotiated recently for a linked co-wife on the strength of bridewealth paid by his father, but with no success.

A man makes his headquarters in his great wife's hut, and keeps his possessions and money in it. During the day it is considered proper that he should sit and chat or entertain visitors on the verandah of her hut. Her hut is likely to be of better design than those of her co-wives, and she is more likely than they to have a separate kitchen. When her husband returns from a journey, he ought to go first to her hut, and if he has brought back goods from Southern Rhodesia, it is in her house that he stores his loads until he has time to divide them among his wives and relatives. A visitor from afar goes first to the great wife's hut and there asks for the man he is seeking. In her husband's absence it is she who must entertain the visitor. This pattern of precedence is followed to greater or lesser extent despite quarrels between husband and wife, and is not affected by where the husband actually sleeps at night.

Apart from this emphasis on the importance of the great wife, the correct behaviour for a man with many wives is impartiality. He must sleep with each wife in rotation, usually for a week at a time, and must not confide in one wife the secrets of his relationship to another. Relationships between co-wives are sometimes strained, and one may use medicines against the others. The medicine[33] believed to prevent a man from achieving erection with anyone other than the woman who gives it to him is sometimes used by one wife against another. On the other hand, some co-wives help each other in their gardens and many polygynists' households run smoothly. Each wife has her own hut and her own garden and it is possible for them to arrange their affairs so that they can co-operate or act separately as they find best. If they persistently quarrel their husband may deem it well for them to live in separate villages, so that for example a man may live virilocally with his great wife and uxorilocally with his second wife, going from one village to the

[33] Possibly known as *udamanga*. The details of this medicine are not known by many men, and I was unable to question any women on this matter.

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Beyond the village the Native Courts deal to a great extent with matrimonial matters, and are responsible for issuing marriage certificates. The Administration is concerned to see that marriage stability is maintained, that women are not denied justice in marriage disputes, and that adultery and prostitution do not flourish. The missions are interested in the maintenance of monogamy and the development of Christian marriage.

An unmarried individual is under the tutelage of the person who rears him. It is true that sometimes people say that children are responsible for their own actions before the court, and that truant schoolboys can be made to pay their fines themselves, but in practice it would be a harsh parent who denied help to his son in such a predicament. He has a legal right to refuse to accept responsibility for his child's actions, and public opinion would support a parent who washed his hands of a recalcitrant son who had given much trouble to his father for many years. A parent should however be very patient with his children, hoping that in the end after he has borne with their escapades they will become mature and wise. Where the child is in charge of another relative, such as a parent's sibling or a grandparent, the same attitude of adult towards child is expected. Some children live peaceably with their parents, and accept their direction in important affairs, while others move off of their own accord to more congenial kinsfolk or to earn their livelihood as best they can as juvenile labourers on the tobacco farms.

In relation to marriage this variable pattern of dependence and independence shows itself characteristically. Girls are on the whole more dependent on their parents than boys, yet some girls become economically independent and seek their own husbands a few years after puberty, while some men in their late twenties ask their parents to find wives for them. Between these two extremes the majority of the young population seek their own sexual partners but turn to their parents for assistance in arranging the marriage.

An unmarried girl depends on her kinsfolk for shelter and food, and it is they who take action on her behalf to protect her interests and to defend their own rights in her. If she is seduced and becomes pregnant her kinswomen find out from her the name of her lover. It is said that a girl will sometimes suggest the name of a lad whom she dislikes rather than reveal her true lover. Other people say that a girl will indicate the name of the man she wants to marry, whether or not he is the genitor of her child, in the hope that he will then marry her to avoid trouble. The girl's father, if he is available, takes the matter to court if he cannot get satisfaction from the alleged genitor, and it is to the father that the lover pays a beast[1] if he is found guilty. The child belongs to the girl's kin. The girl's parents may try to persuade the lover to marry their daughter if they think he will make her a good husband, but if he does not find favour in their eyes they remain hostile to him. We shall see later

[1] Called *cidumu*.

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583 approval of his father before he offers, and as in the case of Amos and Eve (p. 28), the father may sometimes disapprove. If the man is from another part of the territory or from abroad the parents of
583 the woman, even if they accept the legalization payment, may be
603 reluctant to allow their grandchildren to go a long way away from them to live among their son-in-law's kin. This consideration applies
●593 particularly to strangers in the township who marry Ngoni women. When they leave their jobs or retire they try to take their wives and children with them. They may be frustrated in the removal of their children by the woman's parents, who refuse the bridewealth. The courts support the claims of Ngoni grandparents for the retention of their grandchildren under these conditions and a returning Yao or Cipeta man may be forced to travel without his children and sometimes without his wife. I have recorded elsewhere[2] an incident in which a Yao man who had been married to an Ngoni woman for twenty-one years was divorced by her and his offer of bridewealth refused by her parents. The police who check the movements of women and children by bus and lorry away from Fort Jameson are in touch with the Native Courts and may be on the look out if it seems likely that a man from a strange tribe will attempt to smuggle his wife and children away from their Ngoni kin.

581 Thus we see that the kinsfolk are directly concerned with marriage. When the children are still toddlers, they are paired off in fun by their
[858] adult relatives as they sit playing. For a week or month or even longer a woman will laughingly call her neighbour *child's parent-in-law* because their children have been nominated *husband* and *wife* in this way. As a child grows older, so the interest of its relatives in its marriage become clearer. Before marriage the relatives of a
684 girl hold rights in her that are violated if she is seduced and bears
848 a child. It is to them that the girl's lover pays the beast of seduction to recompense them for the wrong he has done by impregnating the girl, but he does not gain custody of the child. On the other hand,
836 no one brings a case against a man merely because he sleeps with an unmarried girl. It is only when she becomes pregnant that an action can be laid against him. A man caught *in flagrante delicto* by one of the unmarried girl's kin can expect abuse and possibly blows but unless he is provocative he need not fear action in the courts. The hostility directed towards him seems to be due in part to his having behaved so indiscreetly as to be caught and having forced the girl's kin to take cognizance of what was happening.

At marriage the woman's kin grant rights in her sexual activities
581 to her husband. These rights are unambiguously transferred by the
583 legalization payment, and the woman's kin are therefore in a position to delay or facilitate the tranfser of these rights by their attitude towards the payment. There is no corresponding right in an unmarried man held by his kin, and at marriage there is no corres-

[2] Barnes, op. cit. p. 238

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584 or friends. If the man is away working or in the Army he may make his proposal by letter. When agreement has been reached negotiations can proceed although they are carried on as if there had been no prior agreement and the proposal was entirely a new one.

A man tells his eldest brother of his intention to marry, or, if he is the eldest son, he may approach his father direct. He does not [593] speak to his mother about this matter, for a man does not confide in his mother about anything connected with sex, but she is told [603] of his intention by her husband. A man ought to tell his grandmother at an early stage, particularly the grandmother who reared him. A woman tells her sisters and her grandmother, and her eldest sister will tell her eldest brother. The man's father or eldest brother may decide on who shall act as intermediaries in the matchmaking, or else the man may himself ask important people in the village to act. There is no definite rule as to who they should be, and either men or women or both may make up the party. Usually two or three people go, and a man will try and choose people who are reliable and sober and tactful. Marriage intermediaries do not have the same important responsibilities for the marriage as do the marriage [191] sureties (or witnesses) among the Nyanja and Yao although they are known by the same term.[3] The intermediaries go to the woman's village and consult her senior relatives. Traditionally they should go to the woman's grandmother, either her father's mother or her mother's mother, depending on who lives in the village and who is the more important. They tell her that they have heard that such-and-such a marriage has been contemplated. The girl's grandmother tells the girl's father that the intermediaries have come, and if nothing has arisen to jeopardize the marriage, the visiting party are told that all is well and that they must come back again. They return to their own village, and the next day, or the next week if it is a long way to walk, they go again, bringing with them a gift or sometimes the legalization payment. The gift or money is handed to the [583] person leading the negotiations on the woman's side who passes it on to the woman's father. Arrangements are made about the gall bladder ceremony and a date fixed. The intermediaries then go back to their village.

585 At the gall bladder ceremony the bride receives formal advice [591] from her affines and the people in their village. Shortly afterwards she begins to live with her husband in either his or her village. If they live virilocally she does not at first cook for her husband, but the couple rely on food prepared by his other wives or his mother or [593] grandmother. It may be up to a year later that the woman first cooks for her husband and husband's father, the latter commenting on her cooking. When she first becomes pregnant she is anointed 843 by her husband's grandmother, and goes with a young girl from her husband's kinsfolk to announce her pregnancy to her own kin.

[3] *Nhhoswe.*

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586 attitude towards her can be tested only when, if ever, he returns to the rural area.

A man whose wife runs away and who will not return may likewise continue to hope that one day she will change her mind and return to him, and for this reason will not divorce her. Unlike a woman, a man in this condition does not jeopardize his chances by taking a fresh spouse, and therefore it is rare to find a man whose only wife is one separated from him. It will be seen from Table III that there were no men separated from all their wives included in the sample.

593 In both separation and in the procedure by which a man 'leaves his wife in disgust',[17] sexual intercourse ceases between the couple. In other respects the two procedures are quite distinct. When a man 'leaves his wife in disgust', he stops sleeping with her but he continues to treat her as his wife. She has her hut next to her co-wives, her husband sits on her verandah, and she can rely on his help in the garden and in the care of her children. If she is separated from him, she must fend for herself. Her status as wife is significant only in that she does not marry anyone else.

6. The absent husband

A man appeals to his kinsfolk for support, but they do not replace him in the marriage relationship. His wife is linked mystically to him but not to them, and the right of sexual access to her is held by him alone. It cannot be exercised on his behalf by his kinsmen. He takes the initiative in appealing to them in a marital dispute, and his agreement is necessary at each fresh stage of events. If, however, the man is not there, his kin act on his behalf as far as they are able.

593 Most adult men, at some time or other, go away to work in the towns
167 or mines. Some men take their wives with them but at any one time, as can be seen from Table IV, between a quarter and a third of all married women living in the rural area have their husbands away working either in Fort Jameson township, in the towns of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, or living permanently on the tobacco farms around Fort Jameson. When a man goes away to work, no one can tell when he will return. Some men go off and never write or come home again. Others write regularly, send home money and clothes, come home themselves for visits, and remain in close contact with those at home. Friends and relatives may give news of a long vanished migrant whom they have met in Southern Rhodesia.

For at least the first two or three years the assumption is made that a man intends to return, even if he does not write. If his wife
[591] is living uxorilocally she will probably continue to do so. If she is living in her husband's village, as long as she stays there she can depend to some extent on the support of her husband's relatives, who may help her with her hut and garden, and if they are kind-hearted

[17] See above, p. 41.

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and have the money to spare, they may buy her clothes. The only ways in which she can raise money easily for herself are by brewing beer, making pots, and working on the farms. To work on a farm she must, however, remove herself from the surveillance of her husband's kin, and unless she goes to join a contingent from their village working at the farm, they may think she is running away from them to seek a lover or new husband. We have seen, however, from Table XIV that significantly more wives whose husbands are away live uxorilocally.

Many husbands write home, not only to their wives, and some remit postal orders and bank-notes. A man may get a friend who is returning from Southern Rhodesia to take home blankets and other bulky articles to be handed over to his wife. He may send presents like these direct to his wife or he may think it more prudent to send them to his father or brother and allow them to hand on to his wife as much as they think fit. The woman must then behave herself in the eyes of her affines if she wishes to receive her husband's presents. The acceptance of these gifts is taken as proof that the woman is still dependent on her husband however long he stays away. If the woman applies to the court for a divorce on the ground of desertion, the presents will be cited by her husband's kinsfolk as evidence that there is no intention on his part to desert. Gluckman reports from the Lozi that even if a man sends goods, after a statutory period the court will hold that 'a woman marries a man and not a blanket', that is, the husband must return to look after and sleep with his wife as well as send clothes to her. This argument is not used among the Ngoni. A woman who complains that she is not satisfied with marriage under these conditions is told to write to her absent husband and ask him for the fare to join him in Southern Rhodesia.

Case history 10

Saul was working in Nyasaland. He sent home to his wife 7*s*. 6*d*. for clothes. Later she wrote to him saying she wanted him to return. He sent her 15*s*., being 5*s*. for clothes and 10*s*. bus fare so that she could join him. She did not go and later went to the court complaining she had been deserted. Her husband's relatives argued, to the satisfaction of the court, that as her husband had sent her these gifts he was still taking care of her. The court dismissed her plea as she had refused to go to Nyasaland when the fare had been sent.

The husband's relatives try to watch carefully the movements of the woman so that they may prevent or at least report any adultery on her part. If they are in touch with the husband, they write to him should they suspect infidelity. Sometimes the husband ignores their letter, sometimes he gives them instructions how they should proceed in the matter, and sometimes he returns to the village to see for himself what is going on. He arrives without warning and hopes to catch his wife in the act. If all is well and he is satisfied that his wife has been faithful he usually goes back to work again.

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593 167 Some men when they decide to return home from work in the normal course of events do not let their relatives know that they will be arriving. There are a variety of reasons for this, one being that the mystical hazards of the journey home are increased if a man's enemies know that it is taking place. There is also sometimes the desire to check on the fidelity of a wife. A chief returning from the railway line in 1947 reached Fort Jameson and sent on ahead a man to tell the people their chief had returned. A councillor who was with him remarked 'What sort of chief is this who gives his queens time to get back to their own houses? We ought to arrive suddenly and catch them all with their lovers.'

593 167 602 The woman's kin also wish to avoid trouble in her marriage and do what they can to prevent her committing adultery if they think that her husband is still treating her well. They talk to her about her obligations to her absent husband and if they think she cannot be trusted, one of them, perhaps the woman's mother, may sleep in the hut with her to see that she does not entertain lovers there. They may warn her that if she is taken to court for adultery they will not support her.

Thus we see that there is social prescription not only of the ways in which a man and his affines should behave towards each other, but also of the ways in which his affines should behave when the man is away. Similarly a woman and her affines interact in the light of their relationship not only when her husband is present but also when he has been absent for years. As a husband can exceed his rights over his wife, so can an affine go beyond what is tolerated while trying to safeguard the interests of an absent husband. The perseverence of some brothers of absent husbands, and the limitations imposed on their actions by public opinion, are recalled by a girls' song current in 1949.

[533] I am wanting to go and sleep,
What stops me is something in the loins,
I go to the water, and the one who keeps on following comes,
He has exceeded his sibling-in-law-ship,[18]
He has dragged Eleni from the reeds.

Eleni is supposed to be the wife of a labour migrant. Her husband's brother follows her to the stream, where she has gone ostensibly [607] to draw water, as he thinks that she is really going to meet a lover. She hides in the reeds and he drags her out. Such active intervention is inappropriate and dangerous for if there is a struggle the woman is likely to claim that the man was trying to rape her. The astute brother-in-law would have waited his time until he could catch her red-handed with her lover in a village.

167 832 It is never legitimate for a woman whose husband is a labour migrant to have intercourse with another man. People regret that

[193]

[18] *Ulamu*, the abstract noun formed from *mulamu*, sibling-in-law.

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People regret that
a faithful woman whose husband stays away many years does not bear children, but they do not condone infidelity. The prolonged absence of men which leads to this unsatisfactory situation is seen as part of the disruption of the old order by the coming of the Whites. It is they who are responsible, both for the lack of children in marriages where the woman is faithful and for the occurrence of adultery in marriages where she is not. The virtue of bearing children and the virtue of fidelity are values in conflict and the Ngoni see only one solution, the ending of labour migration. This conflict appears with particular force when a man goes away leaving his wife pregnant. This action is in itself hazardous, for the man will not be there at the time of birth to confess his adultery, yet men do go away knowing their wives are pregnant. If a live child is born, it must be protected by the rite of 'taking up the child'.[19] If this is neglected the child may die, and it is in the interests therefore of the man's relatives as well as the woman's that it should be performed. The only consistent line of action is to ensure that the medicines which can be used as a substitute for the rite are available to the woman. These medicines are expensive, and relatives may be reluctant to find the money for them, particularly as the whole procedure is under the ban of the missions. The only other solution is for the woman to take a lover with whom she performs the rite. If they are caught, the excuse that they were sleeping together merely for 'taking up the child' is not accepted. Here the same conflict and the same attitude are seen as when a woman has an impotent husband.[20] To achieve a desirable end the woman must commit adultery; but woe betide her if she is caught in the act.

There is an important difference between the way in which the kinsfolk act at the level of village discussion and their behaviour later when matters are referred to the court. In the village they are fairly free to act without reference to the absent husband. They can give advice and can attempt to enforce mutually agreed damage payments of chicken, acting in the light of their opinion of what is in their own interest and in the general interest of their kinsman. They cannot deal in this way with divorce or with large damages for adultery. These matters must be referred to the court and here much more deliberate attention is paid to the wishes of the absent man. If a case of adultery is brought by the man's kin, the court enquires about the wishes of the husband in the matter. The husband's kin must produce a letter from him authorizing them to proceed against his wife and he must say in the letter whether he wishes to divorce her or merely to claim damages for adultery. The case is usually adjourned for three to six months while this is done. A woman who pleads for divorce on the ground of her husband's desertion is similarly told to write to him informing him

[19] See above, pp. 45f.
[20] See above, p. 34.

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that she intends to seek divorce if he does not reply. If the address of the migrant labourer is unknown to his relatives or to his wife, the court endeavours to trace him through the Administration. Thus the husband's kin usually try to prove in court that the woman is seeking divorce because she has another husband in view, and sometimes imply that she has been committing adultery with him. I heard one man oppose the plea for divorce presented by the wife of an absent kinsman by saying that he was sure the woman had been committing adultery but that he had been unable to catch her in the act. Let the court postpone the case until he had good evidence and then he would agree to the plea. The husband's relatives are more certain of £3 damages if they can prove adultery, and the money is paid to them on behalf of the absent man. For her part the woman usually denies that she has any thought of remarriage. She arrives in court in her oldest and shabbiest clothes, to demonstrate both her husband's failure to clothe her and her own lack of desire to attract other men.

The general principle that no court action involving the husband's sexual rights can be taken without his consent applies even to cases of incest. It may be well known that a woman is living incestuously with, say, her father, but the husband's relatives cannot take her to court without the permission of the husband. Many husbands, on hearing from their relatives that their wives are committing adultery or are pregnant by other men, prefer to let the matter stand over until their return to the village which may be several years hence. Thus one woman may have been sleeping with her father for many years, and another have a growing brood of adulterine children, before at last they are brought to court by their returned husbands.

Even when a man and his wife are both living in the towns, their relatives may be called upon to settle differences between them. In one instance that came to my notice, a man and his wife both from the same village were living together in Lusaka. The woman had a still-birth and her husband went to a diviner to discover who was responsible for this. He was told by the diviner that his wife had been bewitched by his father's brother's son, who was also in Lusaka. The man wrote home to the village to complain. A meeting was held attended by important people in the village, and it was decided to write back and tell the two men that they must not be so foolish as to quarrel in this way. Not all men who go away remain in such close touch with the village but there is a great deal of correspondence back and forth, and this is augmented by the news brought by friends who come home. The intervention in a marital quarrel in the towns is one aspect of the way in which the field of social relations held in common by rural villagers stretches out to include kinsmen and former neighbours working many hundreds of miles away. Men who fall sick in Southern Rhodesia are fetched and escorted home, fathers go on holiday to visit their

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602 the parents of the couple. If the parents are not available other kinsfolk can substitute for them, but in general it is a man's or woman's father who represents the interests of their local group of kin in situations in which these interests are contrasted with those of the spouse's kin. It is the woman's father who receives all the different payments made in marriage, and he is free to keep the payments or to distribute them among his relatives as he thinks fit. If a woman's father is dead or away at work the payments are made to her brother or her father's brother or her mother or some other relative who, in this situation, is prepared to assume the responsibilities that would otherwise be borne by him. Similarly, most men find the money for marriage payments themselves, but if a man is too poor to do this, it is first to his father that he turns for assistance. If, however, his father is dead or poverty-stricken or unwilling to provide the money, he can ask some other relative for help. Here we are dealing with situations in which the father or his substitute [591] is acting as the representative of the loosely structured local group of kin in situations in which his own children are specifically involved. There are, however, certain specific kinship relations which we can separate out from the general operation of local kinship and which impinge on the marriage relationship. A grandmother has a particular interest in the sexual aspect of marriage. The eldest brother acts as intermediary between a man and his father in the marriage negotiations. Younger brothers are interested in the disposal of widows. Children have rights in the property of a married couple. These are more specific obligations and rights, and while it is possible to find substitutes if the genealogically correct relatives are not there, there is more rigidity in these matters than in those in which the initiative lies with the local group of kinsfolk whoever they may be.

603 We have mentioned that the grandmother who rears a girl may be in charge of her seclusion at puberty (p. 32). Even when some other old woman is in charge, the girl's grandmother has some responsibility for her sexual behaviour. If a man does not sleep with his wife she complains to his grandmother, and although a man is not instructed in sexual matters by his grandmother, he can discuss them more freely with her than with any other kinswoman. Grandmothers sometimes play an important part in the resolution of a marital quarrel in the village, and they often act as midwives. It is a man's grandmother who complains to him if his wife is not bearing children, and it is to her that he may turn for advice about medicines. In the courts, however, grandmothers do not play so important a role. They are women, and important women use their influence more in village situations than in court, where men are in [569] control and male councillors look to a man's brothers and father for confirmation of evidence.

593 There is considerable formality in the relationship between a man and his own parents and this formality appears to be greater if

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he has not been brought up by them but by some other relative. In particular a man is reluctant to discuss his affairs directly with his father if he can get his eldest brother to act as his intermediary. The eldest brother is heir to their father and it is considered that he should act as the channel by which the father is approached. He deals with proposals of marriage arising from his younger siblings and if he approves of them, he refers the matter to their father. This pattern of relations seems most marked in aristocratic families.

9. Widows

While it is a man's eldest brother who helps to arrange his marriage, it is his younger brothers who become pro-husbands to his widows. We have seen that in the old days a widow was usually looked after by a younger brother of the dead man but she continued to live in her dead husband's segment, and the children she bore by her pro-husband were grouped with the children of the dead man. This can still happen but it is no longer the invariable rule. As in the old days, if bridewealth has been paid by the first husband and after his death his widow goes to live with someone else, the second husband or pro-husband cannot offer bridewealth and the children he begets belong to the dead husband and take his descent name.

Some indication of the extent to which widows remain with their dead husbands' kin is given by data collected in two villages. All the women now living in these villages had between them experienced widowhood 31 times. In two instances (6 per cent) the widow had been cared for by her dead husband's brother; and in 11 instances (35 per cent) the widow took a new husband not directly related to the dead man. In the remaining 18 instances (58 per cent) the widow had not married again and was living alone.

A man may die at any stage of his marriage. If he is betrothed to a girl and then dies, the betrothal passes to a younger brother. When the girl is old enough, the younger brother marries her as though she had been betrothed to him in the first place and the children he has by her are his own children. Similarly, if a betrothed girl dies before she is married, the betrothal passes to a younger sister.

If a man dies after he has been properly married his widows have definite roles to play. For a month after his death, they must wear the signs of mourning, and they are in danger of *mdulo*[34] if they commit adultery during that time. They must be ready to wail when distant visitors arrive to mourn. At the end of a month they brew beer, and there is a joyous party. A year after the death there is another party, and the fate of the widows is discussed. If none of the younger brothers or kinsmen of the dead man wish to look after the widows, they are free to go their own way, and there may be a formal statement of divorce. They are in any case now spoken

[34] See above, p. 46.

589 of as being divorced from the dead man. If they do not themselves wish to be inherited they cannot be forced to remain.

587 If a widow is cared for by a younger brother of her dead husband, and that man already has a wife of his own, the widow is regarded as inferior in status to the man's own wife. Yet any children she 851 has by him count as if they were children by the dead husband, and 428 as such they inherit his cattle and offices before the brother's children by his own wife. This apparent paradox is due to the nature of 554 Ngoni seniority. Seniority was always associated with position in a definite segment in the old residential system. The widow belongs to the segment of her dead husband, and even today if she is a queen she ought to stay there after she has been given a pro-husband. If she moves to live in proximity to her pro-husband, she comes into the ranking system of which the pro-huband's great wife is the superior. Her children are, however, still associated with the segment from whence she came.

587 The new husband, whether he is a kinsman of the dead man or not, pays one goat, also known as 'snuff-box', on taking the woman, 583 and this animal she keeps herself, and does not hand on to her father or brother. If no bridewealth was paid by the first husband, the 851 children borne to the second take the descent name of their own father and his rights in the marriage are the same as if he were marrying the woman for the first time and had made the legalization payment.

589 There is then an opportunity for the marriage to continue after the death of the man if his wife and his kinsmen are both agreeable. If the widow wishes to go her own way, she can do so, and if his kinsmen do not wish to care for her, they need not. Even if they do not like the woman they cannot turn her out of the village, and she can go on living in her dead husband's hut and cultivating the same garden as before. She may even re-marry and bring in her new husband to live with her in her dead spouse's village. The extent to which this can be done without quarrelling depends very much on the personalities of the people involved. If the widow decides to go back to her own village, her husband's kin may try to prevent her removing possessions of which the ownership is not certain, and she should discuss with them how much of the crops she can take away from her garden.

587 Nowadays the death of a wife brings the marriage to an end. We have seen that in the old days the dead woman was replaced by a linked co-wife, and that this institution has now all but disappeared. There is no other form of sororate, and although a man may sometimes in jest address his wife's sister as *wife*, he has no rights over her.

593 The specific responsibilities of brothers towards a man's marriage are demonstrated in the role of the elder brother as a marriage negotiator and of the younger brother as potential husbands for a man's widows. A man would not, save in exceptional circumstances,

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turn to a younger brother for help in arranging a marriage, but although it is said that a man cannot marry the widow of a younger brother, this is sometimes done. The position of children born in a union of this kind is anomalous and there is likely to be dissension in the family if the elder brother has no children by his own wives.

10. Rights in wives and children

The new-born child sleeps in its mother's hut, is in danger from its father's adultery, and is held by its parents at their ritual resumption of sexual intercourse. It is carried to the garden on its mother's back and at mealtimes sucks porridge from her finger. Perhaps its father may play a little with it, but this is not very likely. After weaning, which takes place about the age of two, it may be sent to a grandparent or some other relative, or may perhaps remain in the parental hut for a few more years. But already it has been handled and probably suckled by many women, has learnt to play with the other young children in the village, and has gone off with them into the bush or to the stream. It has learnt also the correct kinship terms for most people in the village and has seen its village teams dance against those of other villages. It has gone visiting in other villages with its parents and has begun to explore its web of kinship, of which it is the centre.

The growing child therefore does not see its parents as sharply distinguished from all other adults in the vicinity, but merely as the two people to whom its ties are closest and on whom it is most dependent. If a child whose parents are dead or are living in Southern Rhodesia is brought up by a relative, it may not learn their names until it is adult, if then. Parents are important to their children only when they live near them or with them. It is when children grow up in the village of their parents that they rely on them for school fees, clothes and medicines. Later a boy may ask his father for financial help or may use him as a banker, handing over his wages to him.

This is true not only of a man's own children of whom he is both genitor and pater, but also of his wife's adulterine and pre-marital children, if he chooses to accept them into his household. It is clear that if a man has paid bridewealth, he has custody of all the children borne by his wife, in adultery as well as in wedlock. If he has not paid bridewealth, then adulterine children like legitimate children belong in theory to his wife's relatives. In practice a man can either accept or spurn them. If he has been away a long time and returns to find his wife with illegitimate children, he may decide to accept the children as his own. They then take his descent name and not that of their genitor. The biological parentage of such children is not mentioned openly, but is remembered in malicious gossip.

Case history 11

Laban went away to work in Southern Rhodesia. His wife Sara went

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to a farm to work and while there had a child by a man working on the farm. When Laban returned from Southern Rhodesia people said to him, 'You have a bad wife, she has borne a child by a man while you have been away.' Laban said 'It does not matter, I love my wife and I will look after the child.'

The rights of children born in adultery to inherit their pater's property on his death are never certain. If there is enmity between them and the true sons of their pater, they may be denied any assistance from the estate of the dead man.

593 583 A man acquires rights *in genetricem* in his wife,[35] that is, rights in her as a mother, by the payment of bridewealth. We have seen that bridewealth is not often paid and that the rights exercised by a man over his children by virtue of this payment are ill defined.[36] Ngoni argue that in theory when a woman marries, the marriage payments should be paid to her mother's brother and not to her father if he has not paid bridewealth for her mother. Rights in a woman *in genetricem* are held to include the right to the marriage payments of the woman's daughters. In practice this aspect of rights *in genetricem* is as ill defined as rights to determine where children shall live. If a girl is living in the same village as her father or even her mother's husband, the fact that he may not have paid bridewealth is overlooked when the time comes for the girl to marry. Her suitor does not inquire into the affairs of her relatives before he marries her and indeed if her parents are divorced or dead he may never know their names. He respects his affines and does not probe into their secrets. He offers the legalization payment to whosoever appears to be responsible for his bride, her father or her mother's husband or her mother's brother or some other relative, depending on how and where she is living. At the level of the next generation, if a man treats his wife well, her relatives will not want to make trouble in the marriage by insisting on their theoretical rights when his daughters get married. If the man is prudent he gives them some of the money and they are content. On the other hand, if there is a quarrel between affines and the case is taken to court, it may be possible to establish rights *in genetricem*. The court holds that to take the legalization payment of a daughter is to exercise rights *in genetricem* in her mother. The following case concerns a man who exercised rights *in genetricem* that he did not possess.[36a]

Here the award of £3 damages against Nebo is due partly to his having initiated the action for divorce without any substantial complaint against his wife, and partly because he had taken the legalization payment which should have gone to her relatives.

Cases like this are not common, and the interest of the court is more often focussed on the legalization payment than on bridewealth. The legalization payment is becoming the more important payment

[35] See below, p. 113.
[36] See above, p. 35, and Table V.
[36a] See p. 97.

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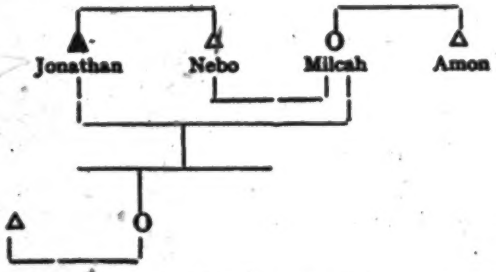

[601]

Nebo inherited the wife, Milcah, of his elder brother Jonathan. Neither brother paid bridewealth. One of the daughters of Jonathan and Milcah was married and the legalization payment for her taken by Nebo. In 1947 Nebo brought his wife to court to divorce her. He said that she was always committing adultery and he was afraid that one day he would kill her in anger. Milcah's brother Amon complained that Nebo had taken the legalization payment of Jonathan's daughter, and insisted that if there was a divorce custody of all Milcah's children should be given to him. This was accepted by the court, who told Nebo that if he wanted the children he must pay bridewealth. The divorce was granted and £3 damages awarded to Milcah. The payment of bridewealth was left undecided.

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in marriage, and some people are beginning to confuse the rights originally transferred by it with the rights *in genetricem* associated with bridewealth. The vernacular term for the legalization payment (*cimalo*) is common to many tribes in the Eastern Province, whereas that for bridewealth (*malowolo*) is peculiar to the Ngoni. Bridewealth is not recorded on the marriage certificate whereas the legalization payment is. It is possible that while the rights *in genetricem* relating to the residence of the children of the marriage will remain indefinite and unenforceable, rights *in genetricem* relating to the acceptance of legalization payments for the daughters of the marriage will become attached to the legalization payment itself. This trend is illustrated by the following incident.

[91]

Case history 13

Simon had been married for many years and his daughter was being sought in marriage. Simon's wife's brother Nimshi came to see him to remind him that he had not yet handed over either the legalization payment or bridewealth for his wife. Simon admitted this. Nimshi said that someone would soon be offering a legalization payment for Simon's daughter. If Simon wanted to keep the money he must first offer the legalization payment in his own marriage. Simon paid Nimshi and kept the payment for his daughter.

Here Nimshi held that the legalization payment offered by Simon entitled Simon to keep the legalization payment offered for his daughter. According to traditional usage Nimshi should have insisted that Simon paid bridewealth not merely the legalization

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payment. It may have been that Nimshi was merely trying to get as much as he could hope for out of Simon, who was a fierce and powerful person. In view, however, of the decline in the incidence of bridewealth and the increasing importance of the legalization payment it is not unlikely that this right to the daughter's legalization payment may soon be separated from bridewealth.

It is at the death of a man that his children exercise their particular rights from him as against the claims of other kin. If a man has paid bridewealth for his wife, then the claim of his eldest son by her to his property is clear. The eldest son by the great wife is the heir, and he takes over control of the dead man's herd, and inherits his money. For inheritance, cattle are more important than money. Most men keep their money hidden in the ground, and it sometimes happens that a man dies without mentioning where he has put his savings, so that they are lost. Cattle are publicly-owned property, in that every boy in the village knows the ownership of each beast, and they can be seen in the byre every day. Men sometimes divide their property among their sons before they die, but it is more usual for a man to give one cow to the eldest son of each wife and to leave the rest undivided. The residue then passes to his heir on his death. If bridewealth has not been paid, the claim of the dead man's eldest son to the herd may be disputed by the dead man's brothers. Succession here does not seem to be determined in the light of the failure to pay bridewealth but by a consideration of residence. If a man is living in the same village as his father then he can expect to inherit his father's cattle when he dies. If he is living elsewhere, and tries to claim his inheritance, he may be opposed by his father's kinsmen resident in his father's village should he try to remove the cattle.

The eldest son inherits, but he has an obligation to help his sisters and younger brothers when they need beasts or money. If the other brothers are scattered in different villages, the herd may be divided among them, but it may be many years after the death that the division takes place. If the eldest son is in Southern Rhodesia the dead man's brothers delay the division of the herd as long as possible in case the rightful heir should return.

Women acquire cattle and other animals with money they have saved or gained by selling beer, or as gifts from their husbands. If no bridewealth has been paid for a woman any animals she may own pass on her death to her eldest son. If bridewealth has been paid for her the disposal of her property is uncertain. Some people argue that the animals cannot then go to her son, for her son belongs to her husband's group because of the bridewealth, and that they ought to pass to her brother's son. Others say that the animals should go to her eldest son irrespective of bridewealth. Unfortunately I did not record any specific instance of inheritance from a woman.

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teach that the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of marriage payments is no concern of the Church, while the D.R.C.M. have a rule that bridewealth shall not be paid although this rule does not seem to be enforced. In general, in the village and in the court, the obligations of Christians are thought of as supplementary to their obligations as ordinary men and women, and Christian ceremonies to some extent supplement, but do not replace, traditional ceremonies. Thus there may be a church wedding in addition to a gall bladder ceremony, and a divorce in the eyes of the mission following after a divorce in court. Pressure has sometimes been put on chiefs and court members to act in accordance with the teaching of the mission, as in a past attempt on the part of the Catholic White Fathers to prevent courts from granting divorces to Catholics.[89] This type of intervention has applied particularly to courts where the chief was himself a Catholic. The Administration has opposed this pressure, and does not itself recognize any legal significance in religious ceremonies.

14. Spouses and kinsfolk

We may see the married couple in the middle of a system of relationships which connects them with persons and institutions each interested in their behaviour and in the maintenance of the marriage tie. By living peacefully together, by producing children, and by fulfilling their obligations to their kinsfolk and affines, they can, with discretion, satisfy the divergent claims implicit in this system of relationships. If they begin to quarrel, their kinsmen and neighbours attempt in the first instance to reconcile them. Only when this is impossible do those interested in the marriage begin to split up into groups with differing interests whose rival claims must be weighed by the court. Even then it is hoped that reconciliation will be possible, that a wife will return to her husband after she has paid him damages for adultery, and a husband return to his wife after many years of neglect. Whereas in the old days marriage was related to a fairly definite residential system, and rights and obligations were clear cut, nowadays the forces holding together a body of kinsfolk are weaker, and the danger of disruption of the group because of quarrelling is greater. The genealogical composition of the group is more variable and alters from year to year. Marriage, as one of the mechanisms by which local groups are built up, is part of the general political process, and is affected by inter-group and inter-personal relations that at first sight appear to have little to do with marriage. We observed that tribal and religious affiliation are significant criteria in a possible spouse. The divergent interests of less permanent groups, such as cliques and factions, influence choice of marriage partner and behaviour within marriage, as we have seen in the stories of Absolom and Mary (p. 60) and Amos and Eve (p. 28). Conversely, marital interests affect non-

[89] *Cf.* Richards, op. cit. pp. 83-4, for similar events among the Bemba.

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marital behaviour, as for example when a new-acquired wife persuaded her husband to seek work with her in Southern Rhodesia so that she might enjoy his prosperity to the exclusion of her senior co-wives who were left in the village.

Within the kinship system itself, ties of affinity compete with and are affected by ties of consanguinity. A quarrel between a married couple may lead to further quarrelling between affinally-linked relatives, and a dispute between a man and his wife's relatives may lead to a quarrel with his wife. Yet on the other hand a man who merely finds a woman and marries her without reference to her relatives is uncertain of his rights in the marriage and cannot appeal to her relatives if she misbehaves. There can be no ceremonies of marriage, and he must resort to subterfuge to get a marriage certificate. If he sends his children to his wife's parents to be cared for, they will accept them, but by so doing they do not accept him as a son-in-law. His wife's parents will deny that they know his name and if he takes his wife to court, they will mock him by saying 'We do not know this man'. Irrespective of marriage payments, a man cannot be validly and effectively married in the rural area without establishing his relationship to his affines. For a woman this is not always so, for her husband may have come from afar to work in the area, or he may earlier have broken away from his kinsmen. But without the support of his own kinsmen a man is dependent on his wife's kin for assistance in the marriage and, though the marriage may last, he is still one man living alone in a strange village.

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varying success in their other aims. The number of people with dozens of wives has decreased to zero, but this has been due to the operation of other factors as well as pressure from the missions. Whether the incidence of polygyny as a whole, that is the ratio of monogamist to polygynist men, has decreased is difficult to assess, since genealogical information is incomplete on barren wives and the wives of men whose descendants are now scattered. The fact that only six per cent of widows are inherited is due to the general change in the nature of marriage, the decline in the incidence of bridewealth, and the changed significance of residence, as well as to Christian endeavour. In these matters the general flow of events has been on the side of the missions. The same cannot be said for premarital copulation and for the ritual of 'taking up the child'. Censure from the mission is an additional hazard to be avoided in premarital intercourse, but it has not prevented it. In their opposition to the belief in *mdulo* and the ritual intercourse which follows as a consequence of the belief, the missions are aided by the teaching of hygiene and Western science in the schools, but there is no support from indigenous values. In this matter it is difficult to establish any trend, but the way in which attitudes are changing towards traditional mystical sanctions seems to be that the operation of the sanction is still believed in, but that the techniques for counteracting the sanction have been added to, so that the powerful medicines of Western civilization, particularly the sulphonamides, can be used to counteract the machinations of sorcerers. It does not seem likely that the belief in *mdulo* will disappear easily.

Thus in the system of values sustaining marriage, we find that there is some inconsistency. The teaching of the missions, the values associated with the old Ngoni way of life, and those deriving from the matrilineal tribes of the region conflict with one another on some points and support each other at others. The situations of the present day provide for considerable freedom of choice within these conflicting traditions, so that in one situation a man may adhere to the mission teaching in condemning the bigamy of another man in his village, and in another situation take part in the marriage negotiations for an additional wife for his chief, in accordance with the old Ngoni system of values. A man condones the secret lovers of his unmarried daughter, but when she becomes pregnant brings them to court with the approval of the mission.

6. *The transfer of rights*

The rights transferred from one group to the other by marriage payments in the old system were clearly defined. By the payment of 'snuff-box' the man's patrilineal kin group acquired rights *in uxorem* in the woman, and by the bridewealth they acquired rights *in genetricem*.[4] If the woman committed adultery after 'snuff-box'

[4] I have taken these terms from the interesting paper by Mrs. Bohannan on 'Dahomean marriage: a revaluation', *Africa*, xix (1949), p. 278 to indicate rights in a woman as wife and as mother respectively.

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had been paid, it was her husband and not her father who initiated proceedings against her and her lover. Residence was equated with political allegience, and therefore it was inappropriate that her children should live in their father's village until he had acquired rights in them, that is until he had acquired rights *in genetricem* in his wife. These rights were transferred with the payment of bridewealth. The holder of the rights both *in uxorem* and *in genetricem* was the husband, but on his death the rights *in uxorem* passed to a junior patrilineal kinsman of the same generation while the rights *in genetricem* remained in the man's own segment. If the woman was barren, it was incumbent on those who had been recompensed for the transfer of rights *in genetricem* to provide another wife whose children occupied the position of children of the barren wife.

Nowadays the legalization payment confers rights *in uxorem* and bridewealth rights *in genetricem*. Rights *in genetricem* are inherited in the same way as before, but rights *in uxorem* do not pass automatically to a younger brother of the husband on his death. If a widow agrees to be inherited, and a younger brother willing to have her, then he acquires rights *in uxorem* over her without any further legalization payment. If, however, either no younger brother is forthcoming or the widow is unwilling, the rights revert to the woman's own group, who cannot themselves exercise them. When she takes a new husband he makes the legalization payment to them, and not to the kin of the dead husband, and thereby acquires his rights *in uxorem*. If rights *in genetricem* have already been transferred to the dead husband, the new husband can never acquire them. If at the beginning of a marriage bridewealth is offered, its acceptance transfers both rights *in uxorem* and *in genetricem*.

Whereas the rights *in genetricem* were definite in the old system, in the new they are vague and of doubtful value. In the old scheme they were related to position in a residential system of which one of the generating principles was patrilineal descent and succession. With the breakdown of this system one can no longer say so clearly that a man belongs to one group of kinsmen rather than another. The lineage segment is no longer a significant group with spatial reference and a hierarchy of authority. Kinsmen, however related, who live near one another tend to help each other, visit one another, and support each other in quarrels and in visits to court. Some of the men and women who go to court in support of A will also go in support of B, while others will not. B shares certain supporters with C, and so on. The men and women who are relatives and neighbours cannot be divided into a collection of mutually exclusive groups, for membership of one man's group partly overlaps with membership of another's, and every man has, as it were, a different set of people, some of them patrilateral kin, some matrilateral, and some affines, whom he is prepared to support. There is no widely-held indigenous theory of procreation such as in other cultures provides a rationaliza-

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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tion for associating children with one parent rather than the other. There is only the one proud dogma that the Ngoni, unlike their neighbours, are a patrilineal virilocal people. This reflects the actual dominance of the virilocal mode of residence but does not furnish a rule to which appeal can be made in specific cases. The only definite unit to which a man can be said to belong is his village, and such few attempts as are made to enforce rights *in genetricem* are expressed in terms of residence in villages. In marriages that are made outside the tribe, rights *in genetricem* become significant, for a child is not likely to wander to and fro between one tribe and another hundreds of miles away in the same way as children change from one village to another within the kingdom. Here then we find more attention paid to the payment of bridewealth and to rights *in genetricem* and these rights are enforceable through the police checks on buses and lorries.

If a man is away working his interests are represented by his kinsfolk. They cannot exercise his rights *in uxorem* for him, but if they are violated they can act on his behalf. His permission is necessary, however, before they can proceed to the court, and if they are awarded damages then they are under some sort of obligation to hand over the money to him when he returns. There was no situation comparable to this in the old system, for men did not go away for years at a time, and the violation of rights *in uxorem* was punishable by death.

The position of the man as holder of rights *in uxorem* over his wife is reinforced to some extent by mystical ties believed to connect the couple, and at the same time the man can fortify his rights by the use of medicines to ensure fidelity. During pregnancy, for a short while after childbirth, and during menstruation, the actions of man and wife affect one another automatically, and each is placed in danger of illness by the failure of the other to observe their mutual obligations. To protect his rights *in uxorem* a man may doctor his wife so that possible violators may be deterred by the fear of mystical retribution as well as action in the courts.

7. *Mystical beliefs and marriage stability*

The mystical connexion believed to exist between a man and his wife serves to define their relationship more closely, for this same connexion does not hold between a woman and her husband's kin or between a man and his wife's kin. The adultery of a pregnant woman's brother-in-law, like her husband's adultery, may threaten the peace of her local group of relatives and friends, and may even lead her to change her village or go to the court as a supporter. The important distinction between the adultery of her husband's brother and her husband's adultery is that the former does not automatically endanger her delivery while the latter does. A man confesses his adultery when his own wife gives birth, not when her sister is in labour. This connexion is definite, and is not extended

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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unity of full-siblings is the result of the established relationship between their mother and father. A man's relationship with his wife may in turn lead to solidarity between their children, but until his wife has stayed with him for many years and borne him live children their own relationship is always uncertain. He must acknowledge that she too has rights, that she must be clothed and respected and must be slept with. He must not abuse her at a beer party or hit her too often, and he must not try to trap her into adultery. When she runs away, he must go after her to apologize.

8. The support of relatives

It is the tenuousness of the marriage relationship which necessitates the co-operation of the relatives in the marriage. There are occasions when affines quarrel, as when a young woman is encouraged by her husband's kin to remain in their village to be delivered of her first child and at the same time is under pressure from her own relatives to move back to her own village for the confinement. A man who is anxious to build up his own cluster of huts in a village may attempt to force his sons and daughters to bring their spouses to live near him against the wishes of his children's affines. These struggles, where they occur, are expressed in terms of residence, for it is common residence that welds kinsfolk together. But in general affines co-operate rather than quarrel. Litigation about marriage payments is rare, and frequently divorces are granted without consideration of the return of marriage payments. During a marriage it is more important that the married couple should be exhorted to adjust themselves to each other and be tolerant of each other's foibles, than that each side should insist on its formal rights. Old people try to prevent marriages they consider unsuitable, but they do not usually try to make difficulties once a marriage has taken place. The successful marriages of a man's children bring him grandchildren to care for and play with, and *children's parents-in-law* who will welcome him and give him food, even if they do not always add to his own cluster of huts.

To some degree people appear to be afraid of the sorcery of an offended affine, but this is not a well-developed idea, and more frequently people express their reasons for trying to patch up a marriage that is in danger of breaking in terms of the need for everyone to 'live well together', without bringing troubles into the village. The well-being of the village and of the local group of kinsfolk within it has ultimate value for the Ngoni and is an end in itself. It follows that serious quarrels can only be resolved by means of some new residential alignment, involving moves from one cluster to another, and from one village to another. The village itself does not exist in isolation, and a village thrives because of the ties that link it to other villages in the vicinity. Marriages link villages together, by the bonds of affinity which cut across village boundaries, and by the interaction between groups of affines

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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life as a young girl. She gives the half-pounded maize to the bridegroom's mother. 585

In neither of the two ceremonies I saw did the husband play any large part. He did not appear when his bride was instructed. His father sent word to him that all was going well, but he himself stayed out of the way at the other end of the village. Sometimes, however, the bridegroom does sit with his bride on the mat and is instructed with her.

Another gall bladder ceremony which I recorded was held at the time the bride went to live with her husband. This was in an intra-village marriage. In the evening the bride came with important women from her section of the village. The bridegroom's relatives were waiting to receive them, and promised to give them a beast. The bride was then handed over to them. The women went back to their own division, and returned the next day to claim the beast and wash the bride. The beast, an ox, was killed and the intestines were placed round the neck of a younger sister of the bride who became the designated linked co-wife. [231]

If Christians hold the gall bladder ceremony before the bride begins to live with her husband, it is followed by a ceremony in church. The bride does not come back to live with her husband after the gall bladder ceremony but instead goes with her relatives to the local church, where they meet a party from the man's village, and the arrangements for the marriage are set in hand. After three weeks the couple are married in church. The bride then goes back again to her village and as before she pounds flour. After a few days she comes to live with her husband, or he comes to live with her.

Appendix II

FIRST COOKING

When a woman begins her marriage in her husband's village, she cannot cook food until she has been invited to do so by her husband's parents. Until then, she relies on food cooked by her co-wives or her mother-in-law or grandmother-in-law. This state of affairs may last from a month up to a year. It is ended by the ceremony of 'making to cook' (*mphekiso*). I did not see this ceremony, and I have relied on the accounts of informants. It is said that a man's parents would be ashamed of their poverty if they did not entertain the new bride as a guest until the time had come for her to join in the general run of domestic work in the village. 591 252 593

The man's parents decide when the ceremony shall be held. On the day, the man's sisters, mothers and grandmothers prepare flour, plates, porridge pat and stirring stick in the house of the man's

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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592 252 593 [069] mother. One of the man's sisters conducts the wife to her mother-in-law's hut, and under the instruction of the assembled women she begins to cook. Although people speak of her doing the cooking, in practice all she does is to look on while her sisters-in-law do the work. The porridge is divided onto plates and distributed under the directions of the man's mother. One plate is sent to the man's father, one to the husband who eats the porridge with his brothers, and one to the most important woman in the village, while some are taken by the cooks themselves. The man's father is expected to remark on how well the porridge has been cooked, but he may say that it has been poorly prepared and his daughter-in-law must be taught again. This expression of disapproval cannot be more than a way of showing his dislike for his daughter-in-law for whatever he says the ceremony is not repeated and the woman begins to cook regularly for her husband. If the man's relatives are wealthy, they may kill a goat or a sheep on this occasion, or the woman's parents may send a sheep or a goat to be killed and eaten. The woman's parents cannot themselves attend the ceremony.

[591] If the couple begin their marriage uxorilocally this ceremony does not take place. The bride begins to cook for her husband as soon as he comes to live with her, using her grand-mother's hut as a kitchen.

Appendix III

THE HOEING PARTY

606 583 A man is under an obligation to provide once during his marriage a party of hoers who work in his wife's mother's garden for the greater part of one day and who are rewarded by his wife's father. This party is called by the general word for obligations owed by a man towards his parents-in-law, *cikomwene*.[1] The function of this occasion, as a socially sanctioned method of expression of hostility between a man and his affines, has already been discussed. I attended one of these parties and my clerk attended two others.

The man, or a relative of his, tells his father that he is planning to bring a party to hoe on such and such a day. If the father-in-law agrees that the day is suitable he tells his wife to brew beer for the hoers. On the agreed day the hoeing party arrive early in the morning and begin to work in the garden. The father-in-law promises presents to the leader of the hoers, who continue to hoe until they are offered what they consider is sufficient. They then stop, and go to the village to receive the present and drink beer.

[1] See above, p. 74.

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

will finish the ceremony [that the relish may be given out]. Should the girl, before she came to maturity, not have been betrothed to any man, the matrons tell her she must go to some lover; this is known as "chigango." In the evening she takes her cooking pot and relish and goes to the quarters of the young unmarried men, who for the night sleep somewhere else. In the morning the girl goes back to the *Kuka* hut.

V

THE BIRTH OF A CHILD

I. When a woman becomes pregnant, the matrons of the village tell the husband "he must now no longer cohabit with her." If the man have another wife he goes off to her house. When the time draws near for the woman's accouchement, she bids her husband leave her. He goes to one of the village matrons and tells her, "My wife is very ill." Then old women go to the hut and begin to take out all the cooking utensils and household goods. Should the woman have difficulty in giving birth the old women bid her confess, saying, "Speak, child, lest you die; who committed adultery with you?" Should she have been faithless she confesses, saying, "I sinned with so and so." The matrons hide such confessions. When she is safely delivered they bathe the infant, then one old woman goes off to tell the husband, "Your wife is well." Perhaps the woman has given birth to a male child, then she tells him, "You have seen a knobkerry."

7: Hodgson G-5 (1926) 1933 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Maravi FR4

12. *Customary Licence* (*Ngoni*).

N 836 [183] [684] [583] Pre-marital intercourse was strictly forbidden, but it is now the general practice, though disapproved of by the elders. While rarely claimed, it is still possible for a father to obtain damages from a man who is proved to have had connexion with his young unmarried daughter; and the bride-price is reduced when it is known that a girl has been playing fast and loose as a regular habit.

13. *Dissolution of Marriage* (*Ngoni*).

N 586 [595] Connubial disputes are decided at the husband's village. A wife may not be divorced on account of barrenness; but in such a case her father gives the husband a younger sister without further *mabaka*, or arranges with a friend or relation to give his daughter in return for a smaller bride-price.

When a divorce has been granted, it is made effective by the husband's *nakhoswe* taking the wife home and handing her back to her father. If there are no children, the bride-price is returned, together with the *mabaka*, *kutenderu* and other presents made before marriage. Presents made by husband to wife after marriage are considered to be the woman's own property, and she takes them with her. If there are several children, the husband keeps them, and his father-in-law retains the bride-price. If there is only one child, and the bride-price was large, the husband keeps the child and also receives back a portion of the bride-price, the guiding principle being a fair division. When the father is absent and is entitled to the children, his relations take charge of them. But even though the father may be given legal ownership, neither Angoni nor Achewa ever take small children away from their mother, with whom they must remain "until they are able to understand," the father being allowed meanwhile to visit them from time to time.

M [586]

III.—Domestic Life: Filial.

1. *Infancy*.

M 845 Among the Achewa, twins were never killed. After being washed in medicine, they were taken with a present of a goat to the chief, who thereupon gave them their names. Until that was done, the chief could not visit their village. At night one twin sleeps on each side of the mother, who lies on her back. If one of them dies young, it is buried with a fruit of the "sausage tree" (*kigelia pinnata*), so that it may not be lonely. Formerly, twin girls married the same man at the same time, and twin brothers married their first wives at the same time. [582]

M 429 Guardianship of a child is always vested in the father until initiation, when it passes to the *mtsibweni*, and on his death to the mother's other brothers, and then to the mother's sons.

N 429 593 Among the Angoni, the father is always guardian, with the modification that after marriage a girl must obey her husband before all others. When the father is dead, the father's brothers succeed according to age, then the father's sons in order, and then the sons of the father's brothers in their order.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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and inform her that she is divorced. If the wife has committed adultery, the husband can take the case to court. If the adultery is proved he is usually awarded £3 damages against his wife and £3 against the co-respondent, and the woman is divorced. On the other hand, a woman can seek a divorce in the courts on the grounds of desertion or cruelty. The court will award a divorce if the desertion or cruelty is proved, but may also rule that the woman must pay £3 to her husband's family.

If a man does not wish to divorce his adulterous wife, the court will award him damages of £1. 10*s*. against his wife and £1. 10*s*. against the co-respondent. In adultery cases in which a divorce is granted the damages awarded against the woman are often met by the co-respondent, who then marries the woman, but where there is no divorce the woman will appeal to her father or brothers to help her pay her husband.

If a woman runs away from her husband there is nothing that the husband can do to force her back, and if methods of conciliation fail, he has little hope of redress, except in cases of seduction or abduction. If the woman refuses to rejoin her husband the court may award damages against her, but such a marriage usually ends in adultery on the part of the woman and a divorce on that ground.

It has been observed by District Officers that divorce is not so frequent among the Ngoni as compared with their Cewa neighbours. Nevertheless, divorce must be considered as a frequent occurrence among the Ngoni, and is so regarded by the people themselves. There is a maxim that a man ought to rely on his brothers, not on his wife, and one informant remarked: 'Never trust your wife; perhaps to-morrow you will divorce her.'

The Wife's Mother

The tensions between the two groups linked by a marriage find their most formal expression in the attitude prescribed for a man to his wife's mother. While a woman can speak to her parents-in-law and enter their house, a man cannot do so. In his contacts with his father-in-law he must be quiet and reserved, and although face-to-face contact is not considered shocking, it should be as rare as possible. But a man must go out of his way to avoid his mother-in-law, and this injunction is in the main observed in practice. The avoidance is usually phrased in terms of a prohibition on the entry into the hut of the mother-in-law. A man who has to pass by this hut will normally go round the back of it.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

Grandparents

603 Children on weaning are often sent to their grandmothers to be brought up. The payments made in the marriage do not seem to influence either the choice of grandmother or whether or not the child stays with its parents. A child is sometimes sent to an old woman not its grandmother but related in some other way who lives in the same or a nearby village and who already has a brood of children to look after. This separation from the parents may occur whether the grandmother lives in the same or in a different village from the parents. Grandparents, and in particular that grandmother by whom a child was brought up, become confidants in later life. It is to her husband's grandparents that a wife complains if her husband does not fulfil his sexual obligations, while it is through the bride's grandparents that the groom should approach her parents when arranging the marriage. [606] The husband must avoid his wife's mother, but his wife's mother's mother and his wife's father's mother can sit on the same side of the house as he does, as though they were themselves married to him. When he is drunk a man can fondle the breasts of his grandmother, whereas to attempt to do this to his mother would be regarded as shocking.

593 691 578 While it is the grandmothers who intervene in the beginning of a matrimonial quarrel when the dispute is still an affair of the village, it is the parents of the couple, or if the parents are dead or senile the brothers, who will go to court to support them when the dispute has moved to the judicial zone of activity. Women seeking divorce on [586] grounds of desertion get their fathers to speak in their favour, while the absentee husband, who may be lost in Southern Rhodesia, will be represented by his father or his brother. Occasionally a father may give his support to his daughter-in-law rather than to his son if the son has annoyed his father as well as his wife.

593 571 578 Outsiders cannot intervene in the disputes within a family, although they may be called in to give their support to one side or the other. In particular the family of a man will not themselves take the initiative in bringing an action against his wife, however strongly they may rally to his support in a dispute where the initiative is taken by the wife's people. This principle applies even in cases of incest. For example, a [684] woman whose husband was away in Southern Rhodesia slept with her father. The husband's brothers wrote to Southern Rhodesia to tell him what was happening, but as in his reply he did not instruct them to take proceedings in the matter, nothing more was done about it.

Il: Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

159 173 [567] Zimakazi Lavu Ngoma of the Ansenga tribe worked for Sosera when he was a youth. Zimakazi was caught and made a slave in 1835, the year of the crossing. Ngungu Ngoma, his son, has often heard this from his father and the chieftainess, Sosera. Zimakazi died a few years before his mistress. His son, Ngungu Ngoma, is in the N. Rhodesia Government Service and is about fifty years of age.

[562] [593] (3) Chibenya Mkhalapi. This was the first wife of importance of Zongendaba, the *ikohlwe* wife. When Zongendaba's mother, Mquamache Nzima, died, Chibenya was taken out of the chief's house and put in his mother's place and called "the Great Mother." This is a well-known custom amongst the Ngoni. The date of her death and place of burial are not known by the present day chiefs. It is stated by some of the indunas that she accompanied Zongendaba north and crossed the Zambesi in 1835, by others that she was the mother of Mtwalu, but this appears doubtful.

[645] [701] (4) Gwaza Tole. Brother-in-law of Zongendaba; Chief Councillor and one of the great indunas. Tribe, Ngoni; regiment, Machaya Imiti. Father, Nzyekezera (Njekerezera), mother and wife, not known; sons, Masakambewa and Chitete.

[554] Zongendaba had married one of Gwaza's sisters. He appears to have been an elderly and very wise councillor, in whom the chief placed great trust and whose advice the indunas and captains readily accepted. Gwaza killed one of Zongendaba's wives on his [578] instructions, possibly his own sister. This led to ill feeling, and it is stated that Gwaza and certain others of his following kept apart from the chief after this affair. He died at Fipa and was buried there in 1846.

159 173 (5) Zulu Gama. Father, Njeru; mother, not known; wife, Nzyalisa.

Zongendaba married a sister of Zulu Gama (possibly Mambose Gama) before the Zambesi crossing. They had no issue.

167 On the upward trek after crossing the Zambesi River to the Fipa country, Zulu Gama left his wife, Nzyalisa, at a village near Kasitu; she had a son by him named Paulos Gama, to whom Zulu Gama left villages at Luanjazi near Mzimba.

After Zongendaba's death, Zulu Gama and a following broke away, and were followed [578] by the adherents of Mombera. A fight took place near what is now Old Langenburg, and Mombera's people were scattered by this wily old induna. He crossed the Shire River in 1868. He entered Songea and died there later. Chief Ngabi Maseko was killed by [554] Zulu Gama. Zulu Gama appears to have been a general of high qualities and a sound councillor.

159 173 [701] [645] (6) Njekwane Ntilila. Father, Mphange, a brother of Hlatshwayo; mother, Manyuwazana; wife, Mtonga Jojo; sons: Kapatamoyo I., Sondwani, Hoye Chafumela, Chulu, Mene, Mazwe. A cousin of Chief Zongendaba. Chief Induna of the Zimpofu regiment and Chief Induna of the Council. Died at Mpinduka Hill, Matambazi River, in the year 1868.

(7) Mgai Kumalo. Father, Hlatshwayo; mother, unknown; wife, Biohi Nkhosi. Regiment, Majekwane. Died in the Ufipa Country 1849.

11: Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FR5 Ngoni FR5

He

was a son of Zongendaba and died after Mombera. After Mombera's death he was acting chief for some years until Chimtunga was appointed.

(15) The following is a list of indunas and chiefs who crossed the Zambesi in November, 1835:—Chief Zongendaba, Chief of the Ngoni. Chief Gwaza Tole, Chief Councillor. Chief Njekwane, Chief Military Induna. Indunas: Zulu Gama, Military Adviser; Mguzhulu, Induna Ziolomba Regiment; Somfula, Induna Somfula Regiment; Mgai, Induna Majekwane Regiment; Ntabeni, Induna Ziolomba Regiment. Chief Gwaza Tole was also Captain of the Machaya Imiti Regiment. Chief Njekwane was Captain of the Zimpofu Regiment. Regiments:—Majekwane, Ziolomba (black oxhide, white spot), Somfula, Machaya Imiti (red and black hide, white spots), Zimpofu. Wives of Zongendaba who crossed over:—Chibenya Mkhalapi, Great Mother; Sosera Nqumayo, Great Wife; Umnene Nzima, mother of Mombera; Nqutu Nzima, mother of Mtwalu; Mavocho Mkhalapi, mother of Mzukuzuku?; Chigomane, Nguluwe, Ndaaya Mbanzima, Mambose Gama, Vuyakhazi, Mwachuma, slave wife and rain-maker? Daughters:—Lomagazi and Mphangela. Sister:—Qochiwe.

A further list of Zongendaba's wives who may or may not have crossed over:—Nthomane, Bazyamanzya, Zin-Khabi, Nquancleni, Nkhaleni, Nshanya, Mabeti.

Brothers and half-brothers of the chiefs who crossed over:—Ntabeni, Mgai, Somfula, Mabuzyubuzyu, Ngoya, Unekwane, Uhallo, Ukhungwayo, Undlina, Mtiyane, Lomapela.

Chief Diviner or *Isanusi*:—Manyonkolo.

(16) Zongendaba's sons:—Ntutu Mpezeni, Mtwalu, Ndelendele, Mombera, Maulau, Mwalule, Mwamba, Makekevu Njobvu, Mperembe, Mzukuzuku (?) Kakuya, Jadose, Sikane, Chigamane, and others.

(17) Chief Mpezeni Jere's (Ntutu) wives:—Nyendeka Muzyopa, Athungwa tribe; Lupoko Phakati, mother of Tsingu Jere; Chota; Mtonga, mother of Madzimawe Jere; Mtizwa Soko, Makalanga tribe; Mawase Soko, Makalanga tribe, mother of Mgwazu Jere; Maiwape Hara, Makalanga tribe; Kukuya Twala, Swazi tribe; Ntombiyimbi, First Wife.

Eldest Son:—Tsingu Jere; married Nkuchwa. Both were shot in the Rebellion of 1898. Grandson:—Chiloa Mpezeni II; married Augustina; heir, Pontilino.

(18) Ntutu Mpezeni Jere was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village near Fort Young, Fort Jameson District, in 1900.

Lupoko, wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I and mother of Tsingu was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village, in 1901.

Tsingu Jere was shot after court martial and buried near Chipinga old camp near Meea Hill, 1898.

Nkuchwa, wife of Tsingu Jere, shot by Lt. Poole's troops in the Vubwi Valley; buried on the top of Neazwe Hill, near Christie's Farm, in 1898.

Other Ngoni Regiments:—Mayunge (Ntutu Mpezeni's regiment); Machihungu, Mavimba, Mahiza, Zinyoka, Masoho, Manyisa, Zinkondo, Machona, Mahora, Manyera, Mabema, Kambayenda, Mafelakudeni, Chimallilembalemba.